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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME LIV.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JANUARY, 1853.

Art. I. — RECENT ASPECTS OF JUDAISM.*

The Jewish race has been for thousands of years the great puzzle of history, and many as have been the guesses at a solution, we shall probably be obliged to

* 1. *Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judenthums. Ein Handbuch für Juristen, Staatsmänner, Theologen und Geschichtsforscher.* Von Dr. J. F. Schröder. Bremen: A. D. Geisler. 1851. 8vo. pp. xii., 678.

2. *Bibliotheca Judaica.* Von Dr. Julius Fürst. Leipzig: Engelmann. 8vo. Erster Theil, A – H. 1849. pp. viii., 419. Zweiter Theil, I – M. 1851. pp. vi., 409.

3. *Philosophie und philosophische Schriftsteller der Juden.* S. Munk, *mit Anmerkungen von* Dr. B. Beer. Leipzig: H. Hunger. 1852. 12mo. pp. vi., 120.

4. *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna.* Translated by Rev. D. A. De Sola and Rev. M. J. Raphall. London: Sherwood & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. iv., 368.

5. *Twelve Sermons by* Dr. Gotthold Salomon. From the German by Anna Maria Goldsmid. London: Murray. 1839. 8vo. pp. viii., 247.

6. *Koheleth. Eine Auswahl gottesdienstlicher Vorträge.* Von Leopold Stein. Frankfort am Main: J. D. Sauerlander. 1846. 8vo. pp. xvi., 366.

7. *Fest-Reden für Israeliten, auf alle Feste des Jahres.* Von Salomon Plessner. Berlin. 1841. 8vo. pp. xxvi., 421.

8. *Gottes-dienstliche Vorträge uber die Wochenabschnitte des Jahres.* Von J. N. Mannheimer. Wien: C. Gerold. 1835. 8vo. pp. xiv., 474.

9. *The Constancy of Israel, a Discourse delivered before the Congregation Shearit Israel, Charleston, S. C., on Shabat Parah Adar* 18, 5610. By Rev. M. J. Raphall, A. M., Ph. D. 1850. 8vo. pp. 19.

10. *The Asmonean.* A Weekly Newspaper. New York.

guess again more than once before the puzzle ends. We used to think that we understood the Jews, and could fix their character in a few off-hand sentences from the current opinion. We could call them a nation hardened, a perpetual sect stationary on principle and obstinate by persecution; their aversion to pork quite as conspicuous as their affection for gold; their trade old clothes; and their creed old parchments. We well remember when these notions were pretty severely rebuked, and we felt almost for the first time that the Jew is like the rest of us, a man of our common nature and our current time. It was in 1836, at the consecration of the first Synagogue in the Mississippi Valley and at Cincinnati. There sat Miriam and Rebecca in the gallery of the women, side by side with the Marys and Marthas of our own Church. There stood Benjamin and Ezra, and the like, in citizen's clothes, bearing the scrolls of the ancient law to the sanctuary; and chief of all spoke Joseph Jonas, the President, thanking their Christian friends for contributing to the edifice, and expressing great joy in setting up the ark of the One God of Israel in a country of unshackled religious liberty. As the sun went down, the singers began to chant the beautiful psalm of preparation for the Sabbath, and the Hebrew words in that new, bustling country seemed like the very voice of Memory singing of the light of other days in the fresh gardens of hope, and breathing something of its freshness into her song. The Jew is a man like ourselves, thought we, and what we had always held as an abstract principle regarding all races of men, now became fact regarding him, and we have looked upon him with other eyes since.

Our readers may smile at our ever needing such correction, and say that for a long time they have seen the working of the spirit of the age upon Judaism, and that the old superstition is going by the board before the storm of new ideas. We have been sometimes inclined to this view, and actually supposed that Jewish exclusiveness had received its death-blow from the very toleration of our times. We are not so sure of this as some ten years since, for with all the fresh life breathed by the age into the preaching and general thought of the Jews, there has been a strong tendency to revive the old standards of faith by the more orthodox party, and the reform

party are scarcely less zealous for the distinctive character of the nation, and the separation of the Synagogue from the Church. Whether disposed to call Judaism a hopeless petrifaction or a vanishing formalism, we must therefore guess again before the puzzle ends.

We propose to give such views of the subject as our recent reading and observation have afforded. From the difficulty of understanding the inner life and actual condition of familiar Christian sects around us, we must see the almost impossibility of a thorough appreciation of a people so peculiar in history and manners as the Jews. But we will do the best that considerable study and a desire to be candid will allow. Imperfect as this article may be, it will contain facts so new to us, that they may instruct a portion of our readers.

Begin by a glance at the history of the nation. Do we not see at once, that, notwithstanding their uniform adherence to the law of Moses, nothing can be more erroneous than to brand them as a set of exclusives, wholly cut off from the general life of mankind? Since the first captivity, they have shared in the intellectual progress of every nation among whom they have lived, and their creed, rigid as it has been in adherence to its fundamental idea, has passed through stages of development quite as marked as those which have attended the Christian religion. The Rabbinical system, we must believe, was developed during the Persian exile; and five centuries after Christ, not without marks of every intervening century upon its features, this system was finally consolidated into the Talmud. In the mysticism of the Cabala breathed the theosophic daring of the Alexandrian gnosis. Anan, founder of the Karaites, the Luther of the eighth century, caught his protest against the Rabbinical hierarchy from Motekallemin, the Arabic champion of reason against the Moslem orthodoxy, whilst the Jewish scholasticism of the Middle Ages runs nearly parallel with that of the Christian Church, and in Maimonides (1131 – 1234) and St. Thomas (1224 – 1274) each system completes its attempts to reconcile its faith with reason. The century that produced Descartes produced also Spinoza, and the latter confounded the decrees of the Rabbins even more than the former startled the repose of the priesthood. To come nearer our own

time, if Lessing led on the new liberalism of German Christianity, his friend and champion, Moses Mendelssohn, led the Jewish reform in education and letters which succeeded the most barren century in the Jewish annals (1660–1760).

We see, therefore, how largely Judaism has shared in the general progress of literature and philosophy, and the development of the Mosaic system in the Jewish Church has many traits in common with the development of the Gospel in the Christian Church. To compare the two, and run a parallel between the Rabbins and the Fathers, might be less flattering to the pride of Christendom than many suppose. When, indeed, we look into the interminable minutiæ and crazy legends of the Talmud, we start back with aversion, and "St. Paul defend us!" rises at once to our lips, as we remember his conflict with such bondage, and his joy in Christian freedom is fresher to us than any commentary can make it. But when we take a fairer view, and compare the Talmud with its just counterpart, the acts and opinions of the Christian Fathers who governed the Œcumenical Councils, we change our tone; for no Rabbi is so wild that he may not be matched by some monkish Churchman. No superstition ever ruled the Sanhedrim more monstrous and pernicious than the denunciation of marriage and the glorification of celibacy, that are so conspicuous in the Church even of the fourth century. Taking a broad view of the Jewish and the Christian catholicism, we may trace the excesses of each to its leading idea; and the Rabbins have carried their notions of legal obedience quite as far as the priests have carried their notions of sacramental grace, and the Sanhedrim of Babylon has encumbered the Decalogue with a load of enactments very much like that which the Council of Trent has put upon the communion-table.

If Rabbi Ismael in the Talmud presumes to measure the stature of God, and to say that his height is 2,360,000,000 miles, and the distance from his right eye to the left is 3,000 miles, let us remember how much better it is to limit his form than to mutilate his attributes by creeds that claim vengeance on the innocent in place of the guilty, and doom little children unbaptized to an endless home in hell; creeds that showed

traces of themselves in the Church before the Talmudists had completed their labors and closed their canon.

The old Jewish sects may be very readily understood by tracing them to tendencies of our common nature, although the names have disappeared. The Pharisees were the party of tradition, the Romanists of their day, and undoubtedly were friends of progress before they undertook to check further development and consolidate their convictions into a rigid system. The Sadducees were sticklers for the letter of the law, opposed to tradition, not friendly to any progressive thought in religion, rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection, in politics highly conservative, and in most respects very much like that class of Protestants whose religion consists in a decent morality and a dogged secular conservatism. The Essenes were a set of ascetic spiritualists, more akin to the Pharisees than to the Sadducees, yet more prone to the mysticism embodied in the Cabala than to the ceremonials embodied by the Pharisees in the Talmud. These sects have disappeared, although their characteristics remain in various combinations. Much of the Sadducee lurks in the heart of the wealthy Jew, so comfortable under his modern privileges, and so jealous of all religious zeal, whilst the spirit of the Essene strongly leavens the meditative piety of the more contemplative devotees, and breaks out in the extravagances of the Chasidim or pietists. The Pharisee or orthodox party is still in the ascendant, and, with greater or less strictness, the sway of the ancient Rabbins is felt by both the old-school and the new-school Jews of our day.

In order to give a more just and candid view of the present condition of the Jews, we addressed a series of twelve large questions to the most distinguished of their ministers in this country, if not the most distinguished of their ministers who preaches in the English language, Rev. Dr. Raphall, of New York, and we now give his answer to the two most important of these questions, — one regarding their creed, the other regarding their sects: —

"1. All Jews believe, — 1st. There is one God, eternal, omnipotent, immaterial, and all-perfect; 2d. God has revealed his will by means of Moses his servant in the *Torah* (law) and by means of the prophets; 3d. God

rewards the good and punishes the bad, both in this life and in the next.

"These three essential principles are elucidated in the *Creed* (consisting of thirteen articles) composed by Maimonides, and which is received by *all* Jews.

"2. There are not, properly speaking, any sects among the Jews. The ancient Sadducees have been extinct full 1,600 years, and since their extinction there have been no such differences on vital points of faith as that between Pharisees and Sadducees on the immortality of the soul; or as those between Unitarians and Trinitarians respecting the Godhead, — between Romanists and Protestants respecting the adoration of the "Mother of God," — between Calvinists and Arminians respecting predestination. Whereas the differences among the Jews are limited to the authority of tradition and of the observances founded thereon. The Karaites altogether reject tradition (as did the Sadducees of old), but in other respects hold the same belief as Rabbinical Jews. These Karaites are the followers of one Anan and his son Saul, who lived in Persia about the year 800 of the common era. They never were numerous, and do not now exceed a thousand families, who have their chief seat in the Crimea, while some few are found in Russian and Austrian Poland.

"With the exception of this small fraction, all Jews in every part of the world are Rabbinists, who accept the authority of tradition. The *old school* (as you designate it), or about nineteen twentieths of the whole nation, maintain that this authority is of divine origin, and that the chain of transmission is uninterrupted from Moses to the compilers of the Mishna; while the *new school* respect the tradition as representing the ancient usages of the Jewish people, and therefore to be upheld as far as practicable, and no further.

"This indeed is the great difference between the two schools. The one, in every observance resting on tradition, sees and respects a divine origin, while the other treats such observances as established by man, and therefore liable to be abolished. But observances commanded in the Torah (law of Moses), as Sabbath, circumcision, fasting on the Day of Atonement, abstaining from leaven on the Passover, &c., *all Jews*, Karaites as well as Rab-

binites, new school as well as old, equally consider binding.

"According to the Talmud, the Galileans were, long before the destruction of the temple by Titus, distinguished for their provincialism, and peculiar pronunciation, from the great body of the Jews. This difference of pronunciation has perpetuated itself, and to this day divides the Germano-Polish from the Portuguese and Italian Jews, a division strengthened by a difference in their ritual, caused chiefly by the introduction of numerous hymns (called *Piatim*) into the service of the Germano-Poles, which the Portuguese have not adopted. Hence the difference in *Minhag* usage which separates the Sphardim (Portuguese) and Ashkenazim (German) synagogues. But as both obey the same law, adopt the same creed, practise the same observances, recognize each other as orthodox, and join in prayer according to the ritual of either, they are not and cannot be considered as distinct sects.

"There are, especially in Germany, France, England, and these United States, many persons who call themselves and are recognized as Jews, but who live in open and habitual violation of the law of Moses. Many of them are members of and contributors to synagogues, and even attend public worship according to strict Rabbinical form, though they break the Sabbath and do not abstain from forbidden meats. But these individuals do not form any sect, they do not even attempt to defend their conduct, but confess that they do wrong and generally amend their ways as they become old.

"The new school (as you designate it), or the reformers, as they are generally called, are not numerous. They possess in Germany about six or eight synagogues, in England one, in the United States three, and in the West Indies one. In other countries none. East of the Vistula, and south of the Mediterranean, throughout Russia, Poland, Turkey, all Asia and Africa, where the immense majority of Jews are located, these reformers' principles are barely, if at all, known, and their views are adopted by no one. Their synagogues generally possess organs, the appearance of decorum is more strictly enforced, and their prayers are shorter, than in orthodox synagogues. Though among themselves these reformers are united by no uniform system, yet in their opin-

ions they all limit the authority of tradition, and in their observances reject the second days of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, which tradition has endowed with equal sanctity with the first days. The oldest of the reformed synagogues, or temples, as they are more generally called, is that of Hamburg, established in 1818; the oldest in the United States, that of Charleston, established about 1842.

"In Germany, the fatherland of every extreme opinion, there are some few Jews, chiefly professional men, educated at universities, who, while they maintain the unity of God, deny the authority of the *Torah*, or law of Moses, which they say was adapted to the wants and climate of Israelites in Jerusalem, but died a natural death before the advance of civilization and the requirements of the present age. These men are in fact Deists, but as the laws of Germany only recognize Christians and Jews, these men call themselves Jews because they are not Christians. Frequent attempts have been made by these disciples of Hegel to form themselves into a sect, to transfer the Sabbath to Sunday, to abolish circumcision, and with it all other ceremonial enactments and restrictions of the law. But they are so very few in number, and exercise so little influence on the public mind, that all their efforts repeated at Berlin, Frankfort, Konigsberg, &c. have invariably proved abortive, as after a trial of one or at most two years their assemblies dwindle into nothing, and their synagogues have to be dissolved.

"*Les extremes se touchent.* More durable, influential, and extending is the association of Chasidim, *pious men*, in Lithuania, Galicia, and Southern Russia. These fanatics find not enough to occupy their imagination in the Talmud and Medrashim, they therefore have recourse to the obscurities and mysteries of Cabala, believe that it is possible to command spirits and to hold intercourse with the invisible world, and are firmly convinced that their chiefs and teachers by words and signs have power over the manifold classes of incorporeal beings with which they people "earth, sea, skies." Of all European Jews these Chasidim are the most superstitious and the least educated. Nor must we feel surprised at this, when we remember that the countries in which they and their ancestors for centuries have taken up their

residence are among the least civilized and most inaccessible in Europe. What wonder that Jews who reside amidst the rude Cossacks and barbarous Bulgarians should be superstitious and liable to be imposed on, when even in these United States, and amidst all the wonders of science, in the year of grace 1852, the far more clumsy imposture of 'rappings and mediums' is not too gross for the superstition of the credulous.

"The Samaritans claim to be Israelites, but their claim has never been allowed by the Jewish people. Their numbers have dwindled down to less than one hundred families, who chiefly reside at Nablous in Palestine. The ill-feeling between them and the genuine descendants of the patriarchs does not seem to have at all become moderated by time. Of course you are acquainted with the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, and know that they possess no other portion of the Scriptures, except a spurious book of Joshua.

"No Samaritans or Karaites reside east of the river Vistula, though individual Karaite merchants sometimes visit the great marts of commerce, where, however, they join the synagogue. It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the number of Jews in every part of the world is increasing, both Samaritans and Karaites should be continually decreasing. The Samaritans in particular, without any visible external cause, seem to fall away in numbers."

We of course have the highest respect for Dr. Raphall's judgment, and do not question his statements. Yet we must put in a caution as to his classifying so large a majority under the head of Rabbinites. Men of the new school, like Salomon of Hamburg, and Stein of Frankfort, and Marks of London, do indeed render respect to the Talmud, but not as to authority, and they cannot be called in strictness Rabbinites, any more than most of us Protestants can be called Catholics; for whilst we respect in many points the decisions made by the ancient Church before the schism between the Eastern and Western branches, we cannot in any satisfactory sense be said to accept their authority. When the dissent, moreover, concerns doctrines so prominent as the literal coming of the Messiah and the return to Jerusalem, we must ascribe to the existing Jewish Church more of the elements of sectarianism than our learned

friend is disposed to do. We perceive, also, from German and English periodicals, that sectarianism goes sometimes so far as virtual non-intercourse between rival synagogues, and in one case, in London, we infer from an article in the Jewish Chronicle, that attendance upon a reform synagogue prevented the burial of a respectable Jew in consecrated ground under the charge of the more orthodox party. The new-school Rabbins speak of an extreme neological party, with whose views they have apparently as little sympathy as Liberal Christians have with Deists, or even Atheists. But we should judge, from what we read and observe, that these neologists are somewhat numerous in all the synagogues, and that the preaching of the ministers is a very inadequate test of the faith of the hearers. In this country, utter rationalism is to our personal knowledge a not uncommon thing with Jews, and the discourse of Dr. Raphall at Charleston, on the Constancy of Israel, contains arguments for the old faith that are called for by the laxity of far more of his nation than the latitudinarian of Albany, at whom he obviously aims.

We might take various paths of inquiry, and try to illustrate the chief aspects of Jewish thought and life in our time. But we find ourselves most attracted by the pulpit eloquence of the day, and we have before us ample materials for judging of the preaching in the synagogues. The books named at the head of this article have been freely consulted, and have value, although of different kinds. Dr. Schröder's compilation of the Talmudic doctrines and institutions is elaborate, without being discriminating, and serves up the accredited and discredited portions in pretty much the same style. The Bibliotheca Judaica is a work of vast research, and the two parts already published give a wholly new conception of the extent of Jewish authorship. The little historical sketch by Munk and Beer throws much light upon the philosophical character of Jewish thought, and lets us more into the intellectual traits of the nation than any thing we have yet met. It shows the various philosophical tendencies in the several ages, yet maintains that to the Jew philosophy has generally been a secondary consideration. The Treatises from the Mishna, or the text of the Talmud, are evidently translated with

great care and ample scholarship; yet they open to us a wilderness of supersublimated ceremonials, and seem to leave it in doubt how an honest man can get out of bed, or say his prayers, or eat his dinner, without crazing his head with Rabbinical casuistry. The four collections of sermons that follow in our list tell quite a different story, and open to us fields of fresh thought and beautiful diction. We have had many collections before us to choose from, but are content with selecting two of each kind, — Salomon and Stein of the new school, and Plessner and Mannheimer of the old school.

We believe it is not denied by the Jewish preachers, that the sermon, although in their view dating its existence far back in the Mosaic age, has taken its form from the Christian pulpit. For many centuries the voice of preaching seems hardly to have been heard in the synagogue, and ritual worship occupied the entire service. It is alleged, indeed, that the regeneration of the Jewish preacher's office preceded the regeneration of Christian preaching at the time of the Protestant Reformation, and that the Jewish preacher was silenced by legal enactment. But however this may be, it is obvious that pulpit eloquence in modern times has been a very recent thing in the synagogue, and the noted collections of sermons do not date back much beyond a quarter of a century. The new-school Jews appear certainly in theory to make far more account of the sermon than the old-school men, and Stein labors in his Preface to show how much Judaism has lost by sacrificing fresh utterance in the current language to a prolix ritual in the Hebrew tongue. Yet the orthodox party seem determined not to be outdone by the reformers, and in richness of Scriptural illustration, and curious learning and practical earnestness, we know no Jewish preacher superior to the out and out orthodox champion, Plessner of Berlin.

In style, the classic Jewish preachers have some common characteristics. Their discourses are characterized by a scrupulous symmetry in dividing the subject, an avoidance of all abstruse ideas, and even of controverted doctrines, a copiousness of simple and sensuous illustrations, an affectionate, hortatory tone of address, and a constant use of Scriptural images and phraseology. The

very titles of the sermons have often a happy savor of the Bible that mingles sacred with poetical associations; such as "The Path of Light"; "Abraham's Mirror"; "Life a Song"; "All for God"; "The Four Crowns of Life"; "How Great are Thy Works, O Lord!" In a sermon on the Feast of Tabernacles, Plessner takes his text from Leviticus xxiii. 40, and with much beauty, as well as ingenuity, uses the four kinds of trees ordered for the decoration of the tents to illustrate the four classes of men, those like the fragrant and tasteful Hada, who unite religious knowledge with good works, those like the fruitful but scentless palm, who have knowledge without works, those like the fragrant but tasteless myrtle, who have good works without knowledge, and those like the tasteless, scentless brook-willow, who have neither knowledge nor good works. The ingenious and somewhat far-fetched inference is, that as the branches of these trees were to be bound together to form the tents, so all four of these classes of men should be united to produce true reconciliation. We name this sermon chiefly to show how far the love of Scriptual illustration will sometimes carry the preacher into over-nicety of interpretation.

Looking beyond the style to the substance of the sermons, we must give them the praise of being generally very practical and earnest, enforcing the purest morality by devotional sentiment and divine sanctions. Doctrine of a controversial kind is scrupulously avoided. Nothing is said against other religions, and little is directly said in opposition to the rival party. We are left to infer who is of the old school, and who of the new, far less by specific statements of doctrine than by the fact that one class of preachers use the fresh thought of the time chiefly to revive interest in the ancient usages, whilst the other class use the old associations chiefly as symbols of the new life of humanity; or in the one case reason is used to legitimate authority, and in the other case authority is quoted to commend reason; whilst by both reason and authority are acknowledged. We perceive no such difference between the orthodox and liberal Jews as between Christians bearing those names. Mannheimer's sermon on Man might, so far as its view of human nature is concerned, be written by Stein, and in respect to future punishment both classes seem content

with stating the fact, without insisting on its eternal duration. The new-school men, indeed, imply a somewhat milder view of human depravity, and a more positive hope of the final reconciliation of all men; yet they do not apparently aim to make these tendencies very conspicuous. They show, however, pretty clearly, that their hope for mankind does not depend upon the future coming of the Messiah or the return to Jerusalem, and in some cases are more bold in denying such anticipations than the other party are in asserting them.

The later volumes of sermons that we have read seem pervaded with the associations of the Jewish year, and the spirit which the Oxford school has breathed into the Christian calendar seems to have seized the orators of the Synagogue. There is much beauty in the fresh life which Maier and Salomon and Plessner and Mannheimer have infused by special courses of sermons into the fasts and festivals of Judaism. Without losing a particle of our Christian allegiance, we too can keep with them the New Year with its cheerful hope, the Day of Atonement with its penitential prayers, the Feast of Tabernacles with its rural joy, the Passover with its jubilee of redemption, and the Feast of Pentecost with its commemoration of the Lawgiving. The use made of the sacred year by the liberal Jews proves to us what we have long believed, that Liberal Christians have made a great mistake in repudiating the ecclesiastical year of the Christian Church, instead of reclaiming it from bigotry and infusing into it the pure life and truth of the Gospel.

We should like to give some specimens of the pulpit eloquence of the Synagogue, but we must content ourselves with three or four selections, that we choose rather for their peculiarity of thought and style than for any especial brilliancy. The first is from Plessner's Sermon on the Chief Fact in the World's History, or the Mosaic Law as affecting the main interests of human life, the last of which, or the revelation of immortality, the author thus treats upon Old Testament grounds:—

"The last is the infinitely important interest of immortality, upon which the few particulars of the Lawgiving afford us clearer, more moving conceptions, than all the elaborate deductions with which philosophy has sought to demonstrate this subject, and yet never truly convinces and satisfies us upon it. Yes, I directly

maintain that this appearance dispensed with all further instruction upon immortality, and therefore the absence of an especial doctrine upon the subject in the Books of Moses, although indisputable traces of it may be found in substance in them, need not surprise us. What need of a lawgiver's teaching immortality, when he in the body passed forty days and as many nights with God, without requiring physical nutriment? Needed a lawgiver teach the existence of a spiritual world, when to him angels were naught and he yearned only for God's own presence? (Exod. xxxiii. 15.) Needed a people to be taught immortality who had expressly said: 'We have seen this day, that God doth talk with man and he liveth'? (Deut. v. 24.) And in fact the Law has brought us eternal life; even as we acknowledge the blessing, 'he gave us a true doctrine, and thereby planted eternal life in us.' Who can doubt of immortality, who already has it in the life of the body and sees every wish fulfilled: 'Thy future world shouldst thou see even in thy life'? (Berach. 16, b.) 'That whole age,' it is said, (Pirk. R. Elies. 46,) 'which heard the voice of God on Sinai, had the felicity to be equal to the angels. . . . . Joy to them in this, joy to them in the future life.' Therefore the history of this day's festival sets forth the exalted interest of immortality in a manner grand, unexampled, and transcending infinitely all the grounds of reason."

We do not vouch for the orator's logic, but only aim to give a specimen of his mode of treating great subjects. It is clear to us that the Jewish preachers take all the moral and spiritual ideas of our Christian culture and refer them to the old dispensation. Gleams, indeed, of all religious truth appear in the Hebrew Scriptures, but we do not believe that the Jew, by the aid of the Old Testament alone, much less of the Books of Moses only, could have so illustrated the higher virtues of forgiveness and spirituality and the exalted truths of the soul's immortal destiny. We find in these volumes many New Testament sermons from Old Testament texts, and we like the transfer much better than the reverse habit, so common among some Christians, of preaching the darkest of Old Testament notions from New Testament texts, and exhibiting the Heavenly Father under the most awful imagery with which the Hebrew imagination clothed their God of Battles.

Stein of Frankfort seems in his preaching to have a more direct eye to the signs of the times than his compeers, and we translate a short passage, that at once

shows his view of the relation of his nation to the age, and the Orientalism of his style. It is from the last sermon in his volume. He is urging his people not to lose their identity in the commotions of the age, and thus mistake the mission of Judaism.

"Such is the destiny of Israel, and such its relation to other religious associations. By a parable let us make the point more clear. There was once a king who had several sons. He sent the younger of them to war, to conquer for him the world; but he kept his eldest at home, intrusted to him the defence of the capital, the charge of the palace, and the protection of his goods. The other sons, who had won renown in foreign lands, soon looked proudly down upon their brother; they had done so much, he so little. This grieved the poor man; but the father comforted him and said: 'Only wait, and they will soon learn to prize you.' And in the course of years many of the brothers fell upon the bloody field, but the others, when exhausted they laid aside the sword, how glad were they in returning home to find the father's house so well protected and ordered, and how they thanked the brother for his quiet, peaceful administration! Who has not at once recognized God in the royal father, other religious bodies in the brothers, Israel in the eldest son! They have a call to win distant nations to a purer worship of God, yet Israel has not the mission to *conquer*, but to *guard* faithfully the father's house and property, and the Israelite may even unto death rejoice ever in the faith in the One and Only, for so long as he has kept this confession truly, he has not lived in vain."

We translate from Mannheimer's Sermon on the Sign in Heaven, or the Bow of Promise, a short passage on the appeal of nature to the soul: —

"Do we turn back to history, the same doctrine presents itself! When the earth in all its arrangements was finished, and that Paradise stood forth in all its beauty, then man was sent to keep it and till it.

"But when, instead of keeping it and guarding it against all pollution, he yielded himself to the rude and savage law of nature, and, instead of obeying the spirit, submitted to the power of the flesh, — then broke forth the floods which swept him away and destroyed all which men had builded for sixteen hundred years, even to the last vestige. One only remained, and on account of his pious sense and his upright conduct he was saved by the strong hand of God.

"The signs in heaven should remind you of this. And thus history coincides with what nature makes visible to you. Both are one and the same revelation of God.

"As long as you have the sacred feeling of innocence in your hearts, and are in a state to hear and accept the voices of truth and right, so long you obey their laws and bring an offering to your God from a pure heart; so long you stand under the watch and guidance of God, like the stars in heaven, you go and come at his bidding like they, you will set and rise, — in one quarter set and in another rise and shine upon all who live near you.

"Do you find in your hearts, in your souls, on your hands, a spot and a stain? O, 'look up to the heavens'! Even they are not pure and without clouds. But the clouds come and go, and then heaven shines out in its full splendor, in its first-born purity, clearness, and joy. For what else should be storms, — the storms in nature, the storms in the life of man?

"Hear you the storms which God sends, the voices, the thunder-voices of the Lord; and when floods and waters come upon you in life — look up to heaven! When the fearful hours are past, the signs of the Lord will appear to you like messengers of peace, and as your eyes are closed, your heart will be warmed thereby. The peace of God will return to your breast, as he brings calmness and rest to troubled nature, that every thing which has breath may praise the Lord. He is in the storm and in the lightning, even as in the gentle moving of the air and in the sunbeams which color the clouds, he has his messengers, who there perform his will. Amen."

Salomon of Hamburg is head of the new school, and we would quote gladly many passages from his earnest, manly, and affectionate sermons. We can give, however, but a single extract, and this from a volume more recent than the English version named in our list. It is from a collection of Festival Sermons by him and Maier, published at Stuttgard in 1840. It is the close of a discourse at the Feast of Tabernacles, "On the Art of being Happy," and is a fair specimen of the practical spirit of the preacher in what we should call a good, hearty Thanksgiving sermon.

"The fourth and last essential of true happiness now remains: *noble works for eternity.* I will name at once these noble works, that is, kindness and beneficence. Can you feel happy, if you behold sorrow and mourning, want and misery, around you? Can thine eye smile pleasantly, if thy brother's eye swims in tears? Canst thou enjoy abundance of goods, if thou canst read in the countenance of hundreds that they are starving, and have no clothing for the naked body and no shelter for the weary head? Canst thou heartily rejoice in thy children, whilst thou seest desolate orphans wandering about? Can men, can Israel-

ites, be happy so? When Job looked back to his early prosperous days he said: 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, then it gave witness of me; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame.' Job knew that to be happy was to make others happy!

"And to this the feast which we this day celebrate calls us without ceasing. Of no other feast does the wise man so often repeat the words: 'Thou shalt rejoice in thy food, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant and maid-servant, and the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow.' Would you, rich and prosperous, feel happy, after thine harvest is secure, remember the Levite who has no inheritance in Israel; remember the servant whose whole property is in his master's good-will; and remember the widow, unhappy one, who has lost her all with her husband; remember the orphan, who with the love of father and mother was deprived of the greatest goods of life. Stretch far thine own paradise, bid to the feast and close not the doors, if you would enjoy paradise yourself. You beautify the earth and inherit heaven, when kindness and beneficence are works done for eternity.

"To sum up all: —

> 'A pure heart, from guilt set free,
> A united house, to God devoted,
> Force with force, deed with deed combined,
> Noble works for immortality.'
>
> "Amen!"

The four extracts that we have translated give a pretty good idea of the spirit of the modern Jewish pulpit. Compared with the current tone of Christian preaching, it need not hide its head in respect to good sense, freedom, earnestness, and elegance. We miss, indeed, in the Synagogue much of the searching evangelical point that lays bare the central sinfulness of the heart, and calls the penitent to make his peace with God. We of course miss the blessed ministry of our Saviour, as giving life to every spiritual truth by his example, and as counselling heaven and earth by his unceasing work of reconciliation. Moses with the tables of stone is not enough for the heart, and it is precisely when the Jewish preacher touches most closely upon the spiritual life, that we most feel the need of Christ; and it is the best of these sermons, by their aspiration, and not the worst, by their formalism,

that lead us most tenderly to the cross of Jesus as the true and living way.

We need only add, in speaking of the Jewish pulpit, that we have heard one of the best of its preachers, and that Dr. Raphall, in his clear, glowing, extemporaneous manner, deserves name among the conspicuous pulpit orators of our day. We have sometimes thought, in listening to him after some of the dry dogmatists nearer ourselves, that the Church and Synagogue had exchanged teachers, as the chemist's cups sometimes exchange fluids, and the Christian had appropriated the Law and the Jew the Gospel. Yet even such an experience could not suppress our yearning that, where the spirit of Christianity is so warmly recognized, the great fact, the sacred person in whom that spirit was made flesh, might be also recognized, and the Gospel thus be presented in its divine life.

We close this article with some remarks upon the present prospects of the Jews, as indicated by their statistics, their social and moral condition, and their religious tendencies.

Germany, Prussia, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland have authentic statistics of Jews in their dominions, but not so other lands. We have seen the entire number in the world estimated variously at from three to eight millions. The London Times estimates it at five millions, but the most approved Jewish authorities at seven millions. In the United States it is impossible to form an exact estimate of their number, as every week brings fresh accessions. There are, besides, we are assured, hundreds of them scattered through the Southern and Western States, who are not known as such for years, but who eventually come forward and confess their faith. We are informed by a prominent Rabbi of New York city, that, from the quantity of flour consumed for Passover cakes, the number of Jews in the city and State had more than doubled during the seven years from 1845 to 1851. At present he estimates the Jews in that city at not less than twenty-five thousand, with seventeen synagogues and places of worship. In Philadelphia there are about eight thousand, with five synagogues; in Baltimore, five thousand, with three synagogues; in Cincinnati, five thousand, with four syna-

gogues; in New Orleans, about two thousand, with two synagogues. In addition to these large numbers, there are Jews and Jewish congregations in almost every considerable town throughout the Union. In Charleston, Richmond, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, there are Portuguese synagogues; all the others adhere to the German or Polish *Minhag*, or usage. The whole number of Jews throughout the States cannot be less than two hundred thousand, and increases constantly.

As to their moral condition, we have found the most contradictory accounts. Schroeder multiplies stories of their gross stupidity, indolence, and superstition, in Northern Europe, especially in Russia; whilst he makes those in North Africa, especially Algiers, to be infamously degraded, even to supplying brothels with their daughters; and we have the authority of Rev. D. W. Marks, of London, a prominent new-school preacher, for the statement, that the Israelites of Egypt and Syria set at naught the decrees of Rabenu Gershon and the Hundred Rabbins, without being considered at all schismatic by the rest of Israel. Mr. Mayhew, the author of London Labor and the London Poor, states, that very many of the lower sort of Jews, especially those engaged in street traffic, rarely go to the synagogues on the Sabbath, but spend most of the day in their favorite pursuit of gambling for small stakes. He also states, that the synagogues are not well attended, and that there is a buzzing talk among the attendants during the ceremony, and an absence of seriousness and attention. We requested the Rabbi already quoted to give his opinion as to the actual attachment of his race to their faith, and the symptoms of any general decline, and he writes as follows: —

"When we speak of Jews, we must divide them into two large bodies, — the Eastern and Western, — the river Vistula and the northern shores of the Mediterranean forming the line of demarcation. The Eastern, comprising above five sevenths of the entire people, have never experienced any diminution of zeal, but are, at this day, as strict in their observances, and as ready for martyrdom, as their ancestors have been at any time since the dispersion. Among the Westerns, zeal is not so ardent, and among them those departures from orthodoxy and

open violations of the Law are found of which I have spoken. Nevertheless, among them, likewise, there is a strong attachment to the faith of their fathers, and devotion to their observances; and I feel convinced that, if it were necessary,— even among the Jews of the United States, who are the least zealous I know,— full three fourths of the entire number of Western Jews would emulate the worthies of the Spanish peninsula, who, in 1492, sacrificed native land, property, and social position to their religion. As to absorption by *any other* religious system, of that there is not the least danger. Indeed, if there be any truth in prophecy, it cannot come to pass.

"The converts from Judaism do not form either a considerable or a respectable class. I should suppose that by far the greater number consider their change of faith as a trading speculation, and therefore prefer Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. In some few instances, respectable Jews — who from habit and education had become estranged from the observances of their own faith, but who find it necessary to train their children according to some system of religion — embrace Christianity; these men probably prefer Unitarianism. There may also, now and then, be cases of Jewish converts, whose ardent imagination and love of the mysterious may lead them to embrace the Trinity. But it remains a singular and suspicious circumstance, that, in Europe at least, Jewish converts always join the church dominant. Returns to Judaism, especially when the converts become old, are frequent."

There have been various movements towards bringing the Jews into some general association, and last year we observed a call to that effect, by a correspondent, in the *Univers Israelite*, of Paris. But since the patriarchical dignity of the descendants of Hillel, at Tiberias, became extinct (about A. D. 400), and since the Princes of the Captivity, in Sura (Persia), ceased their rule (about 1040), there has been no central Rabbinical authority. Napoleon tried in vain to revive the Grand Sanhedrin; and some countries, like Germany and Denmark, require the Jews to elect a Chief Rabbi for the whole land, and sub-Rabbins in each district. In France, the general administration of Jewish affairs is in the hands of the Consistoire Central, which has its seat in Paris, and is composed of clerical and lay members, the senior of the former being Grand Rabbi of all France. Under this central authority there are several consistories, each with its Grand Rabbi. In Great Britain, the Jews of Ger-

man and Polish lineage and ritual voluntarily place at their head a Chief Rabbi, whose authority is acknowledged throughout the British empire, in every part of the world; whilst the Jews of the Portuguese and African lineage and ritual who reside in London form an independent community. But, generally, the highest authority in spiritual matters recognized by each congregation of Israelites, is that of its own Rabbi. In the United States the synagogues are entirely upon the congregational platform, in matters spiritual and temporal; and the Rabbi, when consulted upon cases of conscience, applies the Scriptural or the oral law to each case, according to his best judgment. We see no signs in either hemisphere of the revival of a central Rabbinical authority.

We will not invade the British Chancellor Disraeli's favorite domain, and try to celebrate the services of the Jews to art and literature. It is evident, however, that they have great influence over the press and the fine arts in Europe, and that the many periodicals bearing a Jewish name are the least part of their work. We know of five theological periodicals expressly devoted to Judaism in Germany, two in France, one in England, two in the United States, one each, at least, in Holland, Russia, and Italy, not to mention older reviews now extinct, the most valuable of which is the Hebrew Review, (London, 1840–41,) which introduced for the first time to the English language the richest treasures of Jewish learning and philosophy.

Regarding the prospects of the Jewish race on the whole, we have no prophecy to utter; for if the future of every nation and religion so often defies conjecture, what shall we say of the nation and religion so exempt from the general fate of mutability? It is clear to us, that Judaism is undergoing, through the general illumination and tolerance of our time, an ordeal more perilous than any age of persecution; and Christian sunshine may win many to lay aside phylacteries that would have been clasped even to death against the old blasts of hatred. It is clear, that there is an extreme party of utter unbelievers, — Hegelians of the left and others, — yet we incline to think that these become less rather than more under the influence of the milder type of religion exhibited by the new school, and virtually adopted by the old

school in many cases. The liberal philosophy of Mendelssohn is favored by leaders of the orthodox party, and the disposition to claim him as an orthodox Jew warrants the opinion, that the Jewish leaders are not willing to set faith into a quarrel with the light and liberty of the age. They are as strenuous as ever for their distinctive law and ritual; yet make a boast of their liberality, and even claim for Judaism a spirit of toleration* throughout all its history. The promise seems to be, that the Jews generally will keep to their national caste, and even the thorough-going neologists observe the distinctive rite of circumcision; whilst the life that is breathing itself into every sect and society of the world is not unmindful of them, and is moving them, perhaps unconsciously, to some significant part in the future of civilization.

We do not see any way for them, as a people, to go over to Christian orthodoxy, for the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice, as accepted by Calvinistic orthodoxy in its creed, and the doctrine of the incarnate Godhead, so materialized by prelatical orthodoxy in its sacraments, are utterly at variance with the first principles of their faith. Such nominally orthodox converts as Neander show how hard it is for a Jew to accept either of those doctrines in its literal meaning, and how essentially Unitarian their modes of thought must be. We have known many Jews to be baptized into the faith of Unitarian Christians, yet we see no signs of any general movement of this kind. They appear destined to an indefinite future, as a distinct people, whatever incidental changes may happen to them. Circumstances may occur, that shall give them possession of Palestine; yet such an event would probably attract but a small minority thither from their free and thrifty homes in more favored countries. They may pass through a more directly personal and social regeneration, and the Synagogue may emulate the Church in piety and charity. Certainly, if they are true to what is best in their system, they cannot fail to be of service to a restless and materialistic age, by their constant witness of God's unity and spirituality, and the authority of that Law which is the security of civil order and domestic

* Beleuchtung des Alten Judenthums. Von Aaron Günzburg. Prag. 1846. pp. viii., 84.

purity, as well as of religious reverence. If, as a philosophic Jew has in substance said, Heathenism tends to lose God in nature, and popular Christianity tends to lose God in humanity, and so both may lead to Pantheism, a pure faith is needed, which shall present God to men as their moral governor, apart from theosophic speculations, which shall overthrow the new idolatry, and restore the throne of God to worship in love and reverence. This, says the philosopher,* is the problem of Judaism, and therein lies its future! We say, rather, this is the problem of mankind, and the Jew may help the Christian in its solution, if true to his best light.

S. O.

Art. II.—SHALL WE INTRODUCE SOME LITURGICAL OR RITUAL FORMS IN OUR PUBLIC WORSHIP?

Among the topics discussed at the Unitarian Convention held in Baltimore in October last, was that of the expediency of introducing some liturgical forms into our public worship. The subject was not formally presented by the Business Committee, nor was any great stress laid upon it as a matter of pressing interest, or as one which promised either to be heartily entertained by our congregations, or to be of much service, by itself alone, in deepening the religious effect of our services. The subject came up incidentally, as a part of a larger and more complicated theme, for which we can find no better designation than to call it *Church Life*, or the promotion of an intelligent and vigorous spirit of Christian culture in our congregations. Our brethren who were not at the Convention, and the laity of our denomination in general, would be strangely mistaken, as well as needlessly alarmed, if they were to suppose that any proposition was entertained or advocated at Baltimore, which looked to the introduction of a ritual service through a book, defining, after the mode of the Book of Common Prayer, the Prayers, Psalms, and portions of Scripture to be read by the minister, according as they were appointed for the Sundays of the year. We may safely affirm, that no such proposition would find an advocate among our ministers. Whatever may be the defects or short-comings of the Congrega-

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* Dr. Beer, Philosophie und Philosophische Schriftsteller der Juden. Anmerkurgen, pp. 92, 93.

tional mode of worship, the occasional experience which most of us have had of a liturgical service does not dispose us to seek relief in that direction. If the whole question at issue were to be tried by a comparison, for instance, between the service in the Prayer Book for the Burial of the Dead, which is so often, and, as we think, so unduly and extravagantly extolled, and the extemporaneous utterances which are in use with us, we could not for one moment hesitate as to which of the two methods to prefer. Nor would we allow that prejudice or custom had biassed our minds, for we should be prepared to give intelligent reasons for our conviction. In about one case out of each ten where we have officiated at funerals, we should have been satisfied with the form in the Prayer Book. But to be confined to that form in all cases would be a painful, often a most embarrassing experience, and would cramp or destroy those sensibilities, the full, free exercise of which alone can make such a service sincere to us. The Scriptural portions of that form are, of course, free to the use of all who may officiate at a funeral, and there is no good reason why any one should be confined to them. But the objection in our mind and feelings to any set form on such occasions is, that we cannot in all cases use even the same expressions of prayer to God, or apply, by implication, the same suggestions, views, and consolations to the attendants at a funeral. Common as is the experience of death, every instance in which it addresses us has its own peculiar aspect, appeal, admonition, counsel, or lesson of sadness or hope. We would be free to yield to the varying emotions thus excited, to the different utterances thus prompted. We cannot express our religious feelings in the same words over the infant of a day, and over the mother who dies in giving it birth; over the remains of one who has wasted life in a reckless, vicious course, and over some sainted disciple, whose days have been spent in all Christian fidelity to love and duty; over the aged frame, bowed by fourscore years, and ripened for the garner, and over the young man or maiden sinking mysteriously into death from the very glow of life. If there are reasons why any religious services should be held over the dead, those reasons enjoin that the services should be adapted to the lesson which death has consecrated in every case, either through the life of the departed, or through the circumstances of its close, or through the relations and condition of survivors. We feel very differently in the sight of death when it has come by some instant shock, such as a disaster, or a blow, and when it relieves some patient sufferer who has waited for it through months or years of decline. Experience has proved to us that much of the unction, the sincerity, the solemnity, and the power of consolation in a funeral service, depends upon the adaptation to each case of fitting sentiments and

words. We are well aware, that much may be said in reply as to the offences against good taste, the infelicities of speech, the jarring or lacerating effects of ill-chosen expressions or objectionable personalities, as well as to the risk of insincerity, to which our mode of conducting funeral services may be liable. But we do not admit that these objections are of force to withstand the grounds of our preference. They concern the imperfections of the men who officiate, not attaching necessarily to the mode of service.

If, however, the issue be raised afresh between a formal and a free service in our churches, taking the issue in its whole length and breadth, we confess that we are so thoroughly persuaded of the superiority of our own method, that we should not care to entertain the question in our pages as if it were an open one. A liturgical service involves two conditions: first, what is called a Christian calendar of the year, and second, an allotment or appointment of particular prayers and selections from Scripture for the Sundays, and for all other occasions of public worship. Both these conditions involve arbitrary and fictitious, or at least fanciful and suppositious devices. There are not enough distinct incidents in Christian history to mark with a specific title and consecration each Sunday in the year, and there are no reasons why such an arbitrary allotment should be made. If any person by the exercise of his ingenuity should be able to designate fifty-two great incidents in the evangelical history, another person with no more ingenuity might designate sixty or seventy such incidents, equally worthy to give a title to some Sunday in the year. In the mean while, a preacher is free to use the few great incidents of the Saviour's life on the earth, his birth, his crucifixion, his manifestation to the Gentiles, his resurrection, and his ascension, with the Pentecostal day of the Apostolic Church, as occasions for peculiar recognition in his Sunday services. And if the preacher chooses, he can annually adapt his utterances to the sentiment which consecrated the festival of All-Saints, or that of All-Souls, or any other observance which has about it the aroma of Christian piety and hope. But shall not the preacher be free to Christianize the great year of Providence, with its Sundays of spring-time, summer, harvest, and winter, with all their sweet and precious influences? Shall not the bursting bud, and the full foliage, and the fading leaf, and the crowded garner, the days of brightness and the days of gloom, the summer sun and the wintry storm, and all the passing and changing aspects of the seasons, fill his heart with answering sentiments, finding expression in words of discourse and prayer? What meaning is there in the "Tenth Sunday after Trinity," compared with the meaning of a Sunday when, just after the loss of a hundred human lives

in a burning ship, or the death of the greatest man in a nation, friends and neighbors enter the place of worship, and wait for the prayer or the lesson which shall meet the emotions of their hearts?

But we did not intend to discuss the question, into which we have already advanced beyond our purpose. As has been already observed, no proposition was made at Baltimore for the introduction of what might properly be called a liturgical service in our worship. Something far short of that was suggested, which might avail towards a closer engagement of the personal interest of the members of the congregation, especially of young persons, in the religious services of the church. A responsive use of some of the Psalms, or of some other portions of the Bible, an audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer, or of some other brief form of devotion, in connection with our present extempore exercises, was the utmost that was advocated by any speaker. So that the question which now engages the minds of some of our brethren, is not that of a Liturgy, strictly speaking, but of an intermingling of the voices of the congregation with that of the minister in a part of the Sunday services, together with some arrangement of passages from the Scriptures, with some ancient anthems and prayers, in such a way as may enlist and fix the devout attention of the worshippers.

The Rev. Dr. Dewey of Washington had intended to express his views at some length on this point, but circumstances prevented his giving utterance to them in full in the remarks which he made before the Convention. At our request, he has put into our hands a more extended statement of his opinions on the subject. For convenience' sake we offer them to our readers in the form of a speech, according to which the author wrote them out.

EDS.

MR. MODERATOR, — The Business Committee has proposed, as one of the subjects thought fit to occupy the attention of the Convention, that of Church Life and Usages; and under this head, I wish to say something of *the use of forms of prayer.* As all that lies in us to do, as a Convention, is simply to *consider* what will best promote the great interests of religion, and as worship stands at the *head* of all religious means, the subject seems to me alike important and unobjectionable. We have neither the power nor the wish to impose any observances upon those with whom we are connected, whether churches or individuals. We do not meet here for any such purpose. We do not meet even for busi-

ness. We meet simply to *deliberate* upon the common religious welfare; to consider what will advance it; to help one another to form juster opinions and to take deeper views upon this momentous interest.

Worship, I say, is the highest means to the highest end. Whatever, therefore, helps worship, is of the highest importance. Now, I am far enough from proposing to supersede spontaneous worship, — worship without book or ritual. But I am persuaded that, if a good ritual of domestic and public devotion could be introduced into all our families and churches, it would be an immense aid to our religious culture.

It would open an easy way to family devotion. It has already done so in many cases. It relieves the diffidence which many heads of families feel about such an undertaking. Young persons — females — can read prayers; many do so; while original prayer it would be beyond them to attempt. Even to repeat devoutly the simple utterances of David, — those that are of universal application, which alone should be in a psalter, — would be offering prayers and praises. They form, indeed, the noblest Liturgy in the world.

With regard to the public service, it is true that any change in the mode of worship (if change there shall be) must probably, in most cases, be very gradual. If a Liturgy were put into our hands that entirely satisfied us, and if any pastor of a church and half the people were inclined to use it, still, in a matter of such holy delicacy to men's minds and consciences, nothing could be done rashly or hastily. The usage must be *tried*, step by step. Thus some of the prayers might be occasionally used by the pastor, for his own relief; this probably would not be objected to. Then the Psalter, i. e. a selection from the Psalms, might be read, instead of the whole book, — which has much in it whose pertinence is circumstantial, and has passed away. Then, perhaps, responses might be introduced. And, withal, it appears to me, that there should always be a place in the service for spontaneous prayer.

But all this is far in advance of what concerns us at present. We are now to consider the question of Liturgies, as if it were quite an abstract question; but not, — surely not as a question of idle ceremony. There can

be no interest so vital, so profound, so all-comprehending, as worship.

Why should I speak of it in this way? — for you all know it. And yet, so has this ever-living interest hardened into an ordinance and a custom, that I can never speak of it without wishing to go down to the grounds of it in my own mind, — without saying why I worship, or rather, why I cannot help it. And in saying this, I shall also say why I think that this worship is not ordered with sufficient care in many of our Protestant churches.

God who made the world, — He it is that we worship. We believe that He made the world, — that He made *us*, — that He sustains, enfolds, our being, and is more intimately near to it than any other, — that He kindled up this light within us, and *all* the light and love and beauty that shine around us. Thus, then, I reason. If it is right to admire whatever is worthy of admiration, to admire intelligent power and beneficence, — if it is right to love what is lovely, to revere what is venerable, — then it is clear that all these sentiments should rise in supreme homage to that Being, in whom dwell the perfection, the fulness, the infinitude of all these attributes. Even if it were held, as some have held, that God has already given us all that is needful, whether temporal or spiritual, and that it is impertinent or irreverent to ask for more, yet even then, and none the less, would expressions of gratitude and veneration be due and fit. From all worlds, from all intelligent creatures, they would be due. The simple reason of things would require them. The grandest and fittest acts that a creature can perform would be wanting, if worship had no place in his life. The brightest spot, the very shekinah of his being, would be darkened, if no altar-fire were kindled. To a rational and reverent soul, the earth would be dead, and the heavens would cover it as a pall, if no light from above streamed down, and there were no reflection, no return of that light from beneath.

But we believe, too, in prayer, — not only in homage, but in prayer. We believe that the instinctive and irrepressible cry of our human necessity may be heard and answered; and answered by more than the simple effect of prayer upon our own minds, which is no answer, which is a falsity in the very statement. I cannot pray simply

because it makes me feel pious. I can *meditate* for that reason; I *could* worship for that reason, though I had rather not, — there is an infinite Glory for me to worship, and that is all that I wish to think of; but I cannot pray, simply that I may pray myself into devotion. Such a praying-machine, — they *have* such, we are told, in Thibet and Tartary, — such a self-mesmerizing word-mummer, I cannot be. And I have no difficulty, but the difficulty created by my childish weakness and ignorance, on account of the infinite number and variety of the petitions offered. If an earthly governor can attend to a thousand supplicants, surely the Infinite Mind can hear and answer millions, — millions, unnumbered and innumerable.

But such being the nature and grounds of worship, — such being the grand reason and fitness of it, — it being, indeed, the chief, the supreme interest of the world, that this tie be kept strong and indissoluble, of creatures to the Infinite Creator, of children to the Infinite Father, — the question arises, and it rises to the highest importance, What are the best modes and aids of this worship? and I mean now, of course, of social and public worship.

Let me say then, in general, that the medium, the organ of this communication between earth and heaven, should be one of the greatest possible dignity, and fitness to the service. It should offer to our worship the greatest aid and the least impediment that the case admits. In worship, we require repose, assurance, and the freest and most unimpeded flow of our feelings. If we are obliged, in prayer, to doubt about the words or the ideas that are uttered, — if we are led to question this thought, or to criticize that phrase, — and something of this, perhaps, is inevitable, when we do not *know* what is to be said or uttered, — all this must operate as a hindrance to our devotion.

Now all this, it is obvious, is in favor of fixed forms of prayer, — of a Liturgy. It is commonly *admitted* that the number of persons is extremely small to whom we can resign our minds to be led in this service, without doubt or question. Would it not be nearer the truth to say, that it is almost impossible that we should, in such a case, surrender ourselves unreservedly to any man? It may be suggested, indeed, that neither may

the printed form satisfy. But in this case, at least, we *know* what is put down; if we have reserves (which is unlikely), we have determined upon them beforehand; we have no doubts or uncertainties to disturb us.

But beside the repose and assurance which a Liturgy gives us, there is in it a character of impersonality, of universality, and common-consent, which imparts to it great weight, dignity, and authority. With an action so sublime and venerable as worship, every thing should be in keeping and harmony. Individual peculiarities seem to be out of place in such a service. Every thing that savors of personal eccentricity, or that reveals personal embarrassment, all halting or hesitating speech, every unusual or unfit word or phrase, peculiarly grates upon the mind when engaged in solemn prayer. A modest man must often shrink from undertaking to lead the devotions of others. "Who is sufficient for these things?" The anxieties of most preachers, I believe, gather especially around this part of their public duty. It is a fearful thing for me, a weak and erring man, exposed to various moods, and beset with imperfections of thought and speech, to stand up, in my own personality, to be the organ of a whole people's solemn approach to their Maker. But with a prescribed form of prayer, it is not I alone, it is the whole people, that prays. With the words accepted and agreed upon beforehand, sanctioned by the common consent, — with the book in their hands and under their eye, — I believe that the people are more likely to make the prayer their own, than any individual and comparatively isolated prayer that the minister may offer. The minister drops out of sight; the book, the prayer, occupies attention more. The prayer proceeds more independently of the minister. It is impersonal, I repeat; it is the Church praying. It has the dignity and authority of deliberative consent. It is charged with the burden of abiding respect and usage. It is the usage of past times. It is the usage of all places. The heart sinks into it unquestioning. A Liturgy, unbosoming, as it should, the records and relics of good men's thoughts of the olden time, gives us their venerable aid, and is sanctified by their experience. The litanies of ages thus breathe their incense through our worship, — through the perpetual worship of the Church.

I am sensible, that an argument never gains any thing, but rather loses much, by extravagant statements. For a better than any politic reason, I desire never to make such statements. I know that there is devout and humble prayer under all forms, in all our churches, and I do not deny that in oral or spontaneous prayer there are some advantages.

One of them appears to me so great, that I would not, by any means, for my part, exclude spontaneous devotion from the public service. I would give a place to both kinds of prayer. The advantage I speak of is this: *the mind of the preacher is likely to be more thoroughly engaged in the whole service*, when a part of it is to be his own prayer. It is easy to see how this difference may naturally arise from the circumstances. If the preacher goes to the service, feeling that the devotional part is all prepared for him, he is liable passively to lean upon it; he may not feel the need of any special preparation of mind and heart for it. But if, on the contrary, he is to offer his own prayer, he is naturally led to meditate more deeply, — to stir up the gift that is within him; and thus his preaching is likely to be more earnest for his praying. So true is this, that I think it is settled into a maxim in many of our religious conventions, that, although clergymen are present who could perform the service, and relieve the preacher, yet it is better that he who is to preach should also pray. Indeed, the true preaching is a great act of worshipping, — a great feeling of the things of religion; and praying best prepares for that. For many years, I have carefully observed, both at home and abroad, the effect of liturgical and spontaneous devotion upon the preaching and the whole service. For a long time I was disposed to advocate a Liturgy as the sole usage; but I have come to see the matter in another light; and now my conclusion is clear and fixed, that I would, *by all means*, retain the element of spontaneous prayer in every service. If I may venture to speak so plainly, while I speak respectfully, I would say, that it is the neglect of spontaneous prayer in the English Church that accounts for what seems to me the singular want of earnest preaching in it. It is not, in my opinion, merely that the service of prayer in that Church is excellent or is long; that it usurps atten-

tion, or overlays the rest of the service; but that the inward preparation for the preacher's public duty is likely to be different.

I would have one prayer, therefore, in the public service, voluntary; and the place for it should be immediately before the sermon. Let the great liturgic service for all the people be gone through; but when the preacher is about to address them, let him lift up his heart and their hearts to God. This, too, would give him an opportunity to notice such *circumstances* as cannot be recognized in a permanent form. But let him especially pour out his heart in petitions for the Divine blessing. It is, indeed, a distinct usage in the English and Roman Churches, — in the English before the sermon, and in the Roman after the introduction. Let it not, however, be merely a few words of formal invocation; but a fuller utterance, which, though not long, shall be as full and free as seems good to the preacher.

Meanwhile, with this arrangement, the main advantages of a Liturgy are preserved; and they are great. In speaking of them I have not been delivering any abstract argument; it is my own experience. I once felt, in common, I suppose, with many of us, strong prejudices against a Liturgy. I thought it must be cold and formal, and that the book must distract attention. But, in attending to its effect upon my own mind, I have felt a repose, an assurance, an authority in the accepted form, a dignity in the service, a freedom from individual peculiarities, that have given me great comfort and satisfaction. And although there is sometimes to be heard an almost inspired prayer, that is better than any thing else; yet I am prepared to say, that, in the ordinary administrations of the altar, I had rather trust a Liturgy than any other mode of worship.

But there is one further advantage, that seems to me one of great, general, and permanent interest to any church or denomination of Christians. A Liturgy is a strong and excellent bond of attachment to a church, of union among its members, of perpetuity in the institution. This is a matter of especial interest to us as a body of Christians.

There are two views to be taken of our influence and action as a church. The one is, of the effect we may

produce, by our preaching, by our writings, by our appeals, through literature and the press, to the public mind. I believe that we have done much in this way; and my own habits of mind, I confess, lead me to estimate it very highly. But I naturally desire, at the same time, to see a stable and permanent church, — an abiding institution, beneath whose shadow we and our children may sit, and find strength and refreshment for years and ages to come. This is the other form of influence.

Now, in this last respect, it is obvious that we are exposed to unusual danger. Our free thought, our extreme individualism, our perfect catholicity, and the advantage given by it to the more exclusive bodies around us, in cases of intermarriage and in other social relationships, — all this most seriously threatens the perpetuity of our churches. And the best bond for perpetuity that I know of is to be found in a Liturgy; and it is the only one that *we can* have. *Our* bond cannot be any precise institution, canon, or creed; but it may be the bond of common prayer. And, I repeat, it is the best of all visible bonds. It is that, I believe, which, more than any and every other, attaches to their communion the members of the Church of England. And among ourselves, I believe that, for a similar reason, there is no church which has such a fast hold upon the affections of its members as King's Chapel in Boston. When they have been absent from it for a while, in travel or summer retirement from the city, they return to their own service, I am told, with the greatest satisfaction and delight. It is a good bond. Sacred associations interweave themselves with it, and make it every year stronger and stronger. It consecrates birth and burial, marriage and the holy communion of worship. It is the memory of childhood and the solace of age. It links together the generations, and leads them to the everlasting home.

I would cherish the holy fire that is kindled in our churches, and pray God that it may never go out. Far off be the day, — never come the day, — when these churches shall be dead and extinct! No one could desire more than I do, that all churches were merged into one, — one undivided, catholic, liberal, Christian Church. But till that day come, let these Unitarian churches hold

up their testimony. I know how this word Unitarianism looks and sounds to the world around me. I know the mingled reproach and respect in which it is held. I know it all. Yet in this communion, which has no earthly respectability .but its character, I accept my lot. I did not choose my religion for honor or good report. Nay, Sir, permit me to say, reproach has made it dear. I have a touch of the Puritan, may I say of the martyr, spirit in me, and I cling to my faith all the more for the reproach it bears. Yes, Sir, this poor Unitarianism, as it may appear to some, — poor in esteem, poor in resources, — it is dearer to me, it is *richer*, than the plenitude of the Roman See, or of the Primacy of all England. And therefore would I perpetuate it; I would send it down to my children. The treasure of this faith, Sir, — our young people may not value it, — our children may not know what it has cost us, — may not know what furnace it has passed through, — but let us garner it up for them; let us enshrine it in holy altar-forms; let us insure to it all the perpetuity that can be given, by wise institutions, by fidelity, and prayer, and trust in Heaven.

ART. III. — REFLECTIONS.

To command one's spirit is the first step towards commanding one's destiny.

Every fault left uncorrected impairs self-reliance; for how can a man rely upon himself, if he habitually fails to do what his conscience bids?

Duties in general, like that class of them called debts, give more trouble the longer they remain undischarged.

Men dress truth for others' eyes and strip it for their own.

Men's arguments often prove nothing but their wishes.

Boswell's Life of Johnson differs from most biographies, as a living man differs from a statue.

We understand the past better than the present.

None are so weary as those who never work.

He who cannot determine what he ought to do is likely to do little.

The present is the mould of the future.

Remorse often barbs the arrows of affliction.

The progress of the world is continually converting virtues into vices.

Some showy quality often screens a number of unsightly ones.

Inveterate youth is one of the worst infirmities of age.

Some men go through the world *incognito*.

The young think evil accidental; the old know that it is constitutional.

Men strive for more good, when they should strive for higher good.

> Consumed with cares and labors low,
> They dwindle as their fortunes grow.

Great motives publicly presented are often a cover for small motives privately pressed, or still more privately acted on.

Public men of high reputation are like lions in a menagerie, continually stirred up, that the crowd may see their size and hear their roar.

Truths are often admitted long before they are acted on. Habit is but slowly overcome by conviction.

The punishment of a sinful act often consists in the strength that it gives to a sinful habit.

Men are often resigned, but never contented.

Some men think themselves inspired when they are only inflated.

Undeserved popularity is the prelude to contempt.

Is forgetfulness any thing more than the temporary displacement of one idea by another?

The world's waste would supply the world's want.

In whatever shape evil comes, we are apt to exclaim, with Hamlet, "Take any shape but that!"

When men try to get more good than comes from well-doing, they always get less.

Most men die before they have learned to live.

We cannot escape the evils of life by shrinking from its duties.

When we suffer remorse in dreams for imaginary sin, we have the benefit of a warning without the consequences of guilt.

The exercise of good affections is as necessary to happiness as the exercise of the body is to health.

If life improves the character, death will improve the condition.

From the coöperation of the faculties, their cultivation increases their power in a geometrical ratio.

Much of what is called the light of nature is only the light of revelation reflected from nature.

A man must be willing to be seen through, if he wishes to be trusted.

Thoughts and expressions become rounded and polished by being revolved in the mind, as pebbles by being rolled in the sea.

A disagreeable duty should be done as a dose of medicine should be swallowed, without allowing one's self to think beforehand of its unpleasantness.

There are two kinds of evils, those which cannot be cured and those which can. Much of the unhappiness which is referred to the former should be ascribed to the latter.

Contrivances for making easier what was easy before, often cost more trouble than they save.

He who wins applause may, by his eagerness for it, lose respect. But respect is better than fame. One of the worst kinds of dependence is dependence on applause for happiness.

There would be little strife between the rich and the poor, if the rich were uniformly just and kind and unostentatious.

A man's true prosperity often begins when he is said to be ruined; and his ruin when he is said to be prospering.

The strife with evil never ceases. We are afloat in a leaky ship, and must keep pumping to keep from going down.

The birth of a new good is usually accompanied by the death of an old one.

Children's memories may be filled by study, but their powers of thought and action are developed by play.

The day of small things is often the day of great men.

The habit of living, rather than the love of life, causes the dread of death.

The great leaders of mankind sit apart from the crowd, like the Merlin of romance, whom the popular idols reverenced and obeyed.

Intellectual progress resembles physical. Those who climb heights move slower than those who cross the plain.

Philosophy may fail in the hour of trial, and yet may break a man's fall or help him to recover from it.

Love and respect are virtue's reward and support.

The surest way to improve one's condition is to improve one's self.

Those who aim only at accomplishments will accomplish but little.

Continual change of course is continual loss of momentum.

Eloquence consists, not in the spoken words, but in the feeling with which they are spoken and their suitableness to the occasion.

The look of Cervantes's Grisostomo was a benediction; the look of many others is a curse or an insult.

Life is most wearisome when it is worst spent.

A man cannot be generally admired, if his merits are above the general comprehension.

Some men act with ease because they act without scruples.

Children sometimes appear wiser than they are, because their words have more meaning than they are aware of.

> Heedless of warning till too late,
> The foolish call their folly fate.

Much labor is unseen, so that tasks usually seem easier than they are.

The more knowledge a man has, the more numerous are the associations in his mind between new knowledge and old, and the stronger his hold on what he acquires.

An explanation, so called, is often but a change of statement, that serves no purpose but to stop the mouths of inquirers.

The cheek reddens as forgotten follies start to life. This is a foretaste of future retribution.

Some writer says that most great actions are performed before the age of thirty years. Perhaps this is true of the acts most likely to excite admiration. For men in middle life are generally unwilling to make excessive efforts or take great risks; they have learned that the brilliant achievements of early manhood frequently make men old in their prime. The oil which should have lasted them through life has been consumed in one splendid illumination.

Men are very apt to over-estimate those who are superior to themselves. Not being able to see round them, they exaggerate their dimensions.

The young show their weaknesses because they have not learned to conceal them; the old, because they care little about the opinions of those around them.

A man who had made a fortune by industry and close economy, in a retail business, at length retired from trade, and used to loan his money on interest. One day, in midsummer, a friend happened to say to him: "How pleasant it is to have such long, bright days!" "Why, ye-e-s," replied he, "but these long days the interest comes in *so* slow!"

A gentleman far advanced in life having lost his teeth, and being advised to get a set of artificial ones, replied, that he "did not think them good estate to leave."

Lord Brougham, in his Life of Watt, remarks, that the lawsuits, which usually follow patents for important inventions, have often injured the inventor more than the monopoly has benefited him. He thinks that it would be, in many cases, much better for the inventor to rely for profit on the preference that would naturally be given to articles of his manufacture, than to attempt to exclude competition by a patent.

The power of mental abstraction is naturally connected with superiority of intellect. For the more a man is superior to those around him, the less importance does he attach to their sayings and doings. And it is usually easy to withdraw the attention from what is considered not worth attending to.

Men show how much they are interested in moral and religious truth, by the attention which they give to the statement of its elementary principles, though reiterated unceasingly.

It is considered praise to say of a man born to wealth, that he might have been something if it had not been for his fortune.

The good man sees, amid life's evening shades,
The future brighten as the present fades;
Before earth's lingering light has passed away
He hails the dawning of an endless day.

We live beneath a cloudy sky,
And hear the thunder rolling nigh,
And see the lightning falling fast,
And know 't will strike our roof at last;
And have we no protecting rod?
Yes, faith that points to heaven and God,
Steadfast and lofty, to disarm
The bolts that strike of power to harm.

When grief and joy, like shade and sun,
Through life's short day their round have run,
We close our eyes, and all is night;
We open them, and all is light.

No billows toss, no tempests blow,
In ocean's depths, where, builded slow,
The coral insect's structures grow
To lofty, everlasting piles,
Which gem the sea with lovely isles.
So builds the soul the fancies high
And thoughts sublime that never die;
Slowly they rise, until at length,
Complete in beauty and in strength,
The immortal structures of the mind
Stand forth to charm and cheer mankind.

Like animals that sleep by day,
Man dreams his little life away,
Nor truly wakes and lives, till death
Has closed his eyes and stopped his breath.

As the gay rover of the field,
Long in a crawling worm concealed,
When, quickened by the summer sun,
He feels a higher life begun,
Soars from the reptile and the earth
To the bright skies that gave him birth,
We, when our little day is spent,
And earth resumes the clay she lent,
Expatiate in an ampler zone,
To faith and fancy only known,
And slake a deeper thirst than parches
The Arab in his desert marches,

The thirst for good without alloy;
No double-faced, delusive joy,
That keeps its promise but in part,
Filling the eye to mock the heart,
But such as springs from reason's reign
And hearts devoid of passion's stain,
From eyes that look through every juggle,
And virtue grown too strong to struggle,
From faith that brightens into sight,
And life immortal brought to light.
There truth stands forth distinctly seen,
With no distorting glass between;
And reason's war with feeling ends;
And head and heart at length are friends;
And, trial and temptation done,
Desire and duty blend in one;
And morning breaks, and night's alarms
Are hushed in God's protecting arms.

The good of the community is often connected with harm to individuals. But they who suffer from one improvement are benefited by a hundred.

It would be well for those who imitate the follies of the great, to consider how much their follies detract from their greatness.

Good got is often lost; good done, never.

Though man may quit his sins, he 'll find
They always leave their stings behind.

How few are the luminaries in the intellectual firmament which shine for ever round the pole!

The definition of "verb" is true of "man,"—"a word which signifies to be, to do, and to suffer."

The readers of English law learn that "the king can do no wrong"; the readers of English history learn that it is not for want of trying.

States of feeling often result from associations not immediately perceived, perhaps not perceived at all without careful examination. For instance, a particular feeling may be often awakened on passing a particular spot, without our being able to recollect distinctly the origin of the association.

The only thing which every one can do, and the only thing which any one need do, is his duty.

The virtues of half the world grow in a great degree out of the vices of the other half.

Vanity is the union of self-conceit and love of distinction, too strong to be concealed.

Hasty speeches commit men to foolish courses.

When a man has become eminent, it is not easy for strangers to think of him as having been obscure; so that the sayings and doings of his early manhood seem as if they must have had much influence, when perhaps they had very little.

A good writer avoids superfluity, as a good man avoids sin.

Young persons often err grievously, when they suppose certain practices to be safe because others have pursued them without apparent harm. For many men of fair exterior suffer from infirmities known to few. Those who cite their example would often be dismayed if they knew their condition.

No one can obtain more than a moderate amount of good, and perhaps no one who rightly uses his means need have less.

Much of what is called poetry and philosophy makes the reader feel as if he were dragged in a sleigh over bare ground.

One of the manufactures in which our countrymen have made the most progress is the manufacture of public opinion. The principle, that, to interest others, one must be interested himself, is illustrated by the success of interested parties in interesting the public.

Fame is often acquired by excelling in particulars in which men cannot excel without degradation.

> Alike to cobblers and to kings,
> The highest good from goodness springs.

In the following lines the writer has put into verse some thoughts which he found in prose: —

Harsh words are like the hail which beats
The herbage to the ground;
Kind words are like the gentle rain
Which scatters freshness round.

As polished steel receives a stain
From drops at random flung,
So does the child, when words profane
Drop from a parent's tongue.
The rust eats in, and oft we find
That naught which we can do,
To cleanse the metal or the mind,
The brightness will renew.

The most important truths are the most common, and the persons most wearied by their repetition stand most in need of their application; so that few accomplishments are more valuable, than the power of presenting agreeably the common truths of religion and morality. In fact, one of the chief offices of striking thoughts is to enforce common ones, and renew that respect for them which familiarity had diminished. A great truth cannot produce its full effect until it has become a truism.

Refinement easily runs into fastidiousness, which unfits a man to receive pleasure or to impart it.

Obscurity leaves a man free; but a famous man is a slave to his fame. Incense is bought dear. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," although the crown may be of laurels.

The best safeguard is the sense of danger and of duty.

The chief happiness of this life is the hope of a better one.

Moral maxims are usually partial in character, from the weakness of the understanding, and general in form, from the strength of the feelings.

How much happier we should be, but for evils that never come!

A good heart is the best friend of a good head.

Double-dealing makes men distrustful, but none so much so as the double-dealer himself. In fact, his incredulity often amounts to folly, and disqualifies him from weighing evidence and profiting by others' knowledge.

Nothing subdues the irritation of a man of generous spirit sooner than to see that he has given pain, without having excited resentment.

Desires and fears often ought to change places.

Men of easy tempers usually show their emotions more readily than men of strong passions. The latter learn self-control by finding the need of it. The current of the former's nature, being quiet, is allowed to take its course.

The sculptor sees a statue, and the philosopher a principle, where to the general eye all is "without form and void."

The fact, that the word WORTH, when applied to character, means moral worth, shows that, though men may be dazzled by intellectual brilliancy, their real respect cannot be won without virtue. There is no patriotism equal to that of a spotless life.

Men form their opinions, as mineralogists form their cabinets, partly by their own labor, but principally by interchange.

The men whose pursuits call their reasoning powers habitually into vigorous exercise are said to furnish few patients to insane hospitals; while persons who have cultivated the imagination much and the reason little often become the victims of visions which they cannot distinguish from realities.

Shakspeare says, that "the fashion doth wear out more apparel than the man." In this way the caprices of the rich help to supply the wants of the poor.

The dates of year 1, year 2, &c., which we see in books printed in France during the Revolution, suggest the idea

that the French revolutionists, when they gave up reckoning from the birth of Christ, began to reckon from the birth of Antichrist.

Names are a sort of intellectual currency to facilitate the exchange of ideas.

Men's self-conceit springs in a great measure from inability to appreciate merit different from their own.

We sometimes laugh at persons for professing principles with which their conduct is inconsistent. But we forget that the principles which a man feels to be most necessary are often the ones which he finds it hardest to obey.

Ideas hang together in the mind by numerous hooks, and the more ideas a man has, the more can he hitch on.

Men who make a great fuss usually make a small figure.

Light as folly is, it often weighs down wisdom.

The marvels of science are fast supplanting the marvels of superstition.

Great talkers think aloud. They resemble young children, who cannot read without speaking.

Self-discipline without the discipline of external circumstances is too often like Sancho Panza's self-flagellation.

Success is no security against disappointment.

Few men use all their means of happiness.

Honor may diminish desert. A giant made a show of does not work.

It is fortunate for public speakers that debates cannot be daguerreotyped.

A reformer usually makes converts slowly. Conscience struggles long before it overcomes the force of habit and the influence of prescription.

Christianity probably makes some progress. Pride and revenge are held in less esteem than formerly.

Men are continually passing the point at which luxuries become inconveniences.

Men and women are usually mated by the rule of contraries. This seems to be a provision of nature, that husband and wife may supply each other's deficiencies, and be saved from interference and rivalry.

Uncontrolled sensibility makes men shrink from seeing and doing much that might improve themselves and benefit others.

We seldom make sufficient allowance beforehand for the difficulties that cannot be foreseen.

If a man's powers are faithfully cultivated, will they not increase in greater proportion than his trials?

From neglect to scrutinize the grounds of their reasoning, men continually allow to unfounded impressions the authority due only to facts.

Hymns compiled for churches and extracts for schoolbooks often contain obvious blemishes. Should these be left to vitiate the taste of mixed audiences and young minds? Is it not best to change the text, and preserve the original in foot-notes?

Some persons are foolish enough to do wrong, in order to be unlike those they dislike.

Thoughts often lie in the mind in the form of tangled skeins. But if a writer gives them to the world in this form, few readers will take the trouble to disentangle them.

From much that we learn and do, we gain little but the knowledge that it is not worth learning and doing.

If men did not derive the idea of a Supreme Being, of infinite power, purity, and benevolence, from revelation, it must have come from the light of nature; in which case, nature shows God to be such a being as would have been likely to make a revelation in aid of those who are not apt learners of nature's lessons.

The needle seeks the star that lights the pole ;
So flies to thee, O God ! the trembling soul.
Though oft it deviates far, it still returns
To rest where thy unchanging glory burns ;
And fixed in calm repose can never be,
Till freed from all that draws away from thee.

Sidney Smith well observes, that "a man is happier for having been happy."

Pleasant recollections promote cheerfulness, and painful ones gloom. Thus the happiness which flows from the right regulation of the feelings tends to perpetuate itself.

The best solace of affliction, next to religious trust, is necessary labor.

Severe trials call into action those reserved forces of thought and courage and fortitude and faith, which give the victory in the battle of life.

More effort of mind is necessary to apply words correctly, than we are usually conscious of. If mind and body are languid, a man frequently uses one word when he intends to use another.

Habitual feeling leaves a stamp on the countenance which often masks the feeling of the moment.

Some writers throw out words seemingly as a challenge to ingenious readers to find ideas to fit them.

Some men have saddle-bag minds, in which wisdom is balanced by folly.

Scruples are like the sand-bags in a balloon. He who throws them all overboard rises with ease, but is likely to come down with a jounce.

Deference is often derision in disguise.

It is not uncommon to meet with men who have learned the art of turning brass into gold.

The best time to help people generally is when they wish to be helped.

Much offence arises from misconstruction; but what appears to be well meant should be well taken.

The face of nature is the footprint of God.

The recollection of a man's former appearance often blends in the spectator's mind with his present looks, and thus prevents the old from seeing their friends as they appear to strangers.

Wisdom to prevent emergencies is as desirable as ability to meet them.

If a man will not endure the pain of probing his own faults, he cannot have the satisfaction of curing them.

Enduring fame depends mainly on enduring effects. Posterity cares little about any but those who have done something that affects posterity's interests.

Most men labor mainly to obtain comforts or luxuries for themselves or their families. When their circumstances have become easy, the selfishness which made them active makes them idle. This is one great cause of mental decay in advanced years. We may add, that a business of routine, which habit has made easy, is often pursued industriously with little mental activity; so that a man may be rusting out, while he is held up as a pattern of industry.

Immethodical habits often cause a man painful doubts as to whether he has done all that he ought to have done and intended to do.

He who forsakes life's duties through fear of its temptations, declares his Lord a hard master, and buries his talent in the earth.

Established truths are often confounded with obvious ones. They who would have been least able to discover them are least able to understand the difficulty of the discovery.

New ideas require new words, or the use of old words in new senses. Hence languages are continually changing.

The apparent precocity of young children is often only

apparent, arising from their having caught the language and manners of their adult companions.

Some persons make a long story short; but most persons make a short story long.

Many a brilliant reputation resembles a pageant, — showy and unsubstantial, attracting the acclamations of the crowd, and forgotten as soon as it has passed.

Though countless millions have navigated the sea of life, every one sails through parts unknown.

> With feelings strong and reason weak
> And wisdom scarce begun,
> We often shun what we should seek,
> And seek what we should shun.

A virtuous or vicious act to-day, by strengthening our good or bad habits, may determine our good or bad fortune a year hence.

The wheels of the mind may be much obstructed by a single wrong opinion, and he who removes this may help forward mankind.

E. W.

Art. IV. — THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the feeling and conviction of the religious world, in relation to the person of Christ, assumed two directions, which were, in many respects, at variance with each other. Neander has described this difference as being that existing between the fact, on the one hand, of God's becoming a man, and that, on the other hand, of a mere influence of God upon a man. Those who loved clear and sharply defined conceptions looked upon Christ as a man possessed and inhabited by God, so that there was a separable union in the Saviour of the human and the divine; while others, who approached the subject chiefly on the side of feeling and mystic contemplation, contended that God actually *became* a man, so that there was no con-

ceivable separation of the two persons in Jesus Christ. This latter view was maintained with zeal in Alexandria, and the former was more welcome in the churches of Asia Minor and Palestine.

Our object now is to see how these two views came into sharp conflict with each other in that remarkable scene of passion and strife, — the Council of Ephesus; or rather let us say, that we may mark how the ambition, envy, and selfishness of a few restless spirits of that age seized hold of this dogmatic difference as an instrument to accomplish their own private ends, it being true in this case, as in so many others, that the passion sought the object, not that the object created the passion.

It was in April of the year 428 that an eloquent and gifted young man was ordained Bishop over the affluent and splendid see of Constantinople. He had the characteristic fervor of his native land, Syria, and a training in the schools of Antioch had both made him master of the learning of the times, and confirmed his attachment to the theology of the East. His brilliant promise was soon known at the court of Theodosius the Second, and the young preacher was transferred to what was then the most coveted ecclesiastical position in the world.

Nestorius soon gave proof that the quiet life he had hitherto led in the cloisters but poorly fitted him for the management of complicated public affairs, near a corrupt court, in the midst of intrigue, and surrounded by men who were adepts in the arts of the world. Some of them were from the very first hostile to the young Syrian who had been exalted above them, and were ready to improve any opportunity to kindle a flame of popular discontent. The indiscreet zeal of the new bishop was displayed in the first sermon he preached in the hearing of the Emperor, whom he addressed directly in these words: "Sire, free the earth from heretics, and I will give you heaven. Join in the war against them with me, and I will assist you against the Persians." Within five days after this, Nestorius caused an Arian church to be demolished, and adopted rigorous measures against those who kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the month. He little thought how soon the weapons of persecution, which he grasped with a willing hand, would be directed against himself!

It is not to be supposed that this intolerance did any great violence to the semi-barbarous spirit of that age; still there were those who were amazed to see a man, as it was said, "before he had tasted the water of the city," declare that he would root out all those who were not of his opinion. An instrument to check him, and perhaps to overthrow him, was soon presented to their use.

Among those who had come from Antioch with Nestorius was a certain priest, Anastasius by name, who, in the course of a sermon which he preached in Constantinople, had said: "Let no man call Mary the Mother of God. Mary was a woman, and God cannot be born of a woman." The sentiment brought up at once the radical difference in the two ways of regarding the person of Christ, before adverted to, and soon all Constantinople was in commotion.

As we look back upon that age, and especially upon that city, nothing surprises us more than the passion which then prevailed for discussing controverted questions of divinity. All interest in religion centred in petty and frivolous points, and was absorbed upon them. An amusing illustration of the fact is presented by Gregory Nyssa, who, writing of Constantinople only some fifty years later than this, says: "The city is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them Doctors of Divinity, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing." As to the statement of Anastasius, it was regarded as a direct attack upon the established and favorite way of regarding the person of Christ. It was contended, that, if the two natures of Christ were divided after their union, distinguishing between the Son of God and the Son of Man, only a union of dignity, authority, and power was allowed, and not a real and substantial union that made both one. Beside, such a statement was derogatory to the Blessed Virgin, who was thus made mother only of a man; and cursed was every one who withheld from her the great and only distinction that set her apart from all other women, — that of being

the Mother of God. To have such a heresy proclaimed among them by foreign preachers, themselves pretending to be zealous against heretics, was not to be endured; and Nestorius little foresaw what a storm he was raising against himself, when he avowed his intention to defend the position of his preacher Anastasius.

The few glimpses that we get of the conduct of Nestorius, at this point of his life, serve to elevate him in our regard. He appears modest and candid, and, while firm in his own convictions of truth, still was anxious to pursue a path of reconciliation and peace. By a large party in the imperial city his highly rhetorical and impassioned eloquence was warmly applauded, and not unfrequently they expressed their approbation in the midst of his discourses, according to the custom of the time, by cheers and clapping of the hands. "I do not judge the love you bear to me by your shouts," was once his reply to such commendation. On another occasion, from the vociferous applause he received, he feared he had not been sufficiently faithful in stating his own idea, which he knew was not the popular one, and therefore he went back and repeated it again, reaffirming in stronger words his own conviction, saying, as he did it, "Your applause makes me suspicious." Another incident may be stated in the words of Neander.

"On a certain occasion, when Nestorius was inveighing against the doctrine which represented Mary as the Mother of God, and contrasting the eternal generation of the Logos with the temporal nativity of *the man* whom the Logos assumed as his instrument, an individual of rank, no longer able to restrain himself, cried out: "No; the eternal Logos himself condescended also to the second birth." Immediately a violent commotion arose among the assembled multitude, one party taking the side of the Patriarch, the other that of his opponent. Nestorius did not allow himself to be embarrassed by this incident. He once more resumed his discourse, praised the zeal of his friends, and, having refuted the sudden opponent, whom he called a poor, miserable trifler, proceeded with the discussion after his usual manner." — *Church History*, Vol. II. p. 450.

It appears that on another occasion, when he was preaching on this subject, he declared that he had no objection to calling Mary the Mother of God, provided this was done by that figure of speech which the Greeks

called ἀντίδοσις, by which the idioms or properties of two objects are transferred each to the other, for the sake of popular impression and effect, — a discrimination like that which, in the latest phraseology, we have learned to make by the phrases, the Theology of the Feelings, and the Theology of the Intellect. But Nestorius firmly rejected the idea of actually regarding the Virgin as a goddess, and preferred to give her the title which could lead to no misapprehension, — the Mother of Christ.

It is not unlikely that the Constantinopolitan agitations would have in time quietly subsided, had it not been for a foreign interference of a crafty and ambitious nature, to which our attention is now called. Just across the Mediterranean, in the ancient and celebrated see of Alexandria, was a bishop, whose fourteen years of office and power had nurtured an ambition which could no longer be confined within the limits of his episcopate. Gibbon says of Cyril, in words which no knowledge of that prelate's character will permit us to soften: "His enmity to the Byzantine pontiffs was a sense of interest, not a sally of passion: he envied their fortunate position in the sunshine of the imperial court; and he dreaded their upstart ambition, which oppressed the metropolitans of Europe and Asia, invaded the provinces of Antioch and Alexandria, and measured their diocese by the limits of the empire. The long moderation of Atticus, the mild usurper of the throne of Chrysostom, suspended the animosities of the Eastern Patriarchs; but Cyril was at length awakened by the exaltation of a rival more worthy of his esteem and hatred."

It would take us too much away from our main purpose to dwell at any length upon the previous history of this bishop, and yet some correct idea of his character will throw a clearer light upon the course which we shall now see him pursue. There appears to have been no ambiguity as to his character and life. All historians agree in their descriptions of the man. Subtlety, cunning, selfishness, ambition, cruelty, an unscrupulous readiness to use any means to compass his ends, — these are the traits which with singular unanimity are ascribed to him. The title of *Saint* prefixed to his name is but little more than "a mark that his opinions and his party have finally prevailed." In the administration of affairs

in his own diocese, he proceeded with such rashness, insolence, and unfeeling selfishness, that on one occasion, "as he passed through the streets," to quote the words of Gibbon, "his chariot was assaulted by a band of five hundred Nitrian monks, his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert, his protestations that he was a Christian and a Catholic were answered by a volley of stones." A still fouler blot on his memory was his instigation of the murder of Hypatia, an eminent female philosopher, amid circumstances of barbarity which we need not here recall. Dupin says he had "a subtle and metaphysical genius, was wonderfully ready at composing, and applied himself to a way of writing, which it is easy to furnish out, when we bestow no time to polish our discourse, nor keep it within certain bounds, and we resign up our hand and pen entirely to all the notions that come into the head"; and Neander describes the man as guilty of falsehood and bribery, addicted to a cunning policy, cherishing an unbounded ambition, and "attracted by an opportunity so inviting, of extending the dominion which he exercised in the Egyptian Church over a still wider field."

The first thing which this crafty prelate did, as an interference with the state of affairs at Constantinople, was to publish an admonitory letter, addressed to his own Egyptian monks, affirming in strong language the right of the Blessed Virgin to the title Mother of God, representing that to deny this was the same as to say that Mary gave birth only to a mere man, and warning all against heretical views, which he had reason to fear were abroad in the world.

Some ecclesiastical historians are of opinion that the condition of Cyril's own diocese called for such a letter as this, because the sermons of Nestorius had been circulated in Egypt, where some of the monks seemed disposed to embrace his views. Dupin puts forward this apology for Cyril, an apology, however, to which Neander allows no weight. He says that the monks of Egypt had never shown the least favor to the Eastern scheme of doctrine, that they had always been the supple tools of their bishop, that the danger of infection from Constantinople could not have required any unusual precaution, that it is evident Cyril was not in

earnest in what he had said, and that his letter had for its "express design, instead of suppressing, to foment the dispute, and to add to its importance."

This was certainly its effect. It was not long before Cyril's letter was in the hands of the disaffected in Constantinople, who immediately looked to the powerful Bishop of Alexandria as their leader, and felt strengthened and emboldened. An answer to it was soon sent out by one Photius, prepared, it is said, by order of Nestorius. Cyril replied to this, in a letter addressed directly to the Constantinopolitan prelate, urging him to appease the growing disturbances by retracting his error, and giving the Virgin Mary her rightful title of Mother of God. As this letter was carried to Nestorius by one of Cyril's priests, who was urgent for an answer, Nestorius wrote a reply which all accounts represent as conceived in a spirit of kindness and love. He told St. Cyril, to use the words of Dupin, "that though he had acted contrary to the rules of brotherly charity, yet he would forget it, and did by this letter give him the tokens of union and peace."

But union and peace were not the objects which the Alexandrian prelate desired, and he hit upon a device which greatly favored his plans of schism and strife. It must be remembered that these events took place before the rivalry between the see of Rome and that of Constantinople had terminated in the triumph of the former, and when the "Successor of St. Peter" was glad of any opportunity to check the growing power of his great competitor. On the part of Cyril, no stroke of policy could have better served his turn, than to pour complaints of Nestorius's heresy into the ear of Pope Celestine, who was glad to have his brother of Constantinople in any way subjected to his power. But as the cunning are usually the cowardly too, it was in character for Cyril, when charged with making one-sided and false representations to the Pope, to profess his ignorance that Celestine had any knowledge of their disputes. Nestorius, thinking that his sermons would be the best refutation of any charge of heresy, sent copies of them to the Bishop of Rome, which, however, were laid away unread, as the Pope did not understand Greek. Cyril diligently followed up his success by sending an agent to

Rome, to make personal solicitation for a condemnation of Nestorius; and at length had the satisfaction of hearing, that at a synod held in August, 430, the opinions of Nestorius were branded as heresy, and the writings of Cyril were approved. But this was not all. The sting of this synod was in the further decree, that if Nestorius, after ten days' deliberation, did not recant, he should be degraded from his episcopal dignity; and his enemy at Alexandria was charged with the execution of the sentence.

Would the Emperor and the primate of the East submit to the mandate of an Italian priest? There was little in the temper of the times that inclined them to yield. Still less could they bear the idea of submission to this Egyptian arrogance. Conscious that he had not the power to enforce the Pope's sentence, Cyril postponed any attempt at its execution, but meanwhile was busy in stirring up all the elements of strife which he could possibly move. "Put an end to the dispute," wrote an aged abbot, — Isidore of Pelusium, — who on account of his advanced years assumed a certain tone of authority in a letter to Cyril, "lest you bring down upon yourself the judgment of God. Let not the punishment which you deem it necessary to inflict on mortal men, on account of personal grievances, fall upon the living Church. Prepare not the way for perpetual divisions in the Church under the pretence of piety." A priest of Alexandria, Lampon by name, undertook of his own accord to act the part of a mediator of peace, for which purpose he went to Constantinople. Through his spirit of Christian love, Nestorius consented to write one more letter to Cyril, although he had before resolved to have no more communication with him. Neander gives an extract from this letter, as a fair image of the writer's heart. "Nothing is of more power," he writes, "than Christian gentleness. By this man's might I have been conquered; for I confess I am seized with great fear, when I perceive in any man the spirit of Christian gentleness; — it is as if God dwelt in him." But all such counsels and considerations seem to have done nothing to tame the fierce spirit of Cyril; for we read that in the November of that same year, 430, he called a council in Egypt, who published twelve anathemas, each one

aimed directly against Nestorius, and resolved that, if that heretic did not renounce his errors, they should proceed to execute the judgment pronounced by the Western bishops. When Cyril's twelve anathemas were known at Constantinople, Nestorius published a statement of his own belief, drawn up likewise in twelve distinct heads, so that all could see at once the points where these prelates disagreed.

While affairs were in this posture, Nestorius, for the sake of unity and peace, advised the Emperor, Theodosius the Second, to summon a General Council. This was a step to which the opinion of that age readily turned. In the fourth and fifth centuries there were two hundred and four Councils. We have often thought that the immense influence which these congresses must have exerted, as a part of the education of the ecclesiastics of that age, has never been fully appreciated. They were occupied in the discussion of what were believed to be great questions of doctrine and discipline; they assembled the best talent of the whole Christian world; they constituted colleges of mutual instruction; and having for their origin the civil spirit of federation in the old Amphictyonic Councils of Greece,* these representative assemblies of church communities may rightfully be regarded as the parents of the parliaments and congresses of our modern civilization. Yielding to his sense of the needs of his distracted times, Theodosius issued a circular letter, bearing date November 19, 430, calling the metropolitans of all countries of the Roman Empire to a Council, to be held on the following Feast of Pentecost, which fell, in the year 431, on the seventh day of June, and the city of Ephesus was named as the place of assembly.

No reader of Gibbon will forget the amusing account he gives, on the authority of an author of the fourth century, of the scenes witnessed throughout the Roman Empire at the gathering of a Council. The Emperor gave an order to its members for the free use of the national posts, and a competent allowance for the expenses of the way; and then, says Ammianus, "the highways were covered with troops of bishops galloping from every

* Gibbon, Chap. XV.

side to the assemblies, which they call synods; and while they labored to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys." The excitement attending these Councils drew together immense numbers of persons beside those officially connected with them; and we are told that at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, which is said to have consisted of 318 bishops, no less than 2,048 ecclesiastics were present.

Early in the spring of 431, throughout the whole empire, the note of preparation was sounded, for the great contest which was to mark this year. Cyril was the first to reach Ephesus, at which place he arrived on the 1st of June, bringing with him fifty bishops, "his devoted tools," beside "a numerous body of mariners, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark, and the Mother of God." Nestorius soon made his appearance, attended by ten bishops and a strong military guard appointed by Theodosius to protect his primate against the rabble; and Juvenal also arrived with some bishops of Palestine. The day named in the Emperor's letter passed without the appearance either of the legates of the Bishop of Rome, or of John of Antioch, and his bishops of Asia Minor, these last being detained by some popular tumults arising from a famine, and by heavy rains, which had impeded the ways. It was on the 22d of June, that Cyril and his party determined to wait no longer. Accordingly, they assembled in the great church of Saint Mary's, to the number of about two hundred. It was in vain that sixty-eight bishops, with Nestorius at their head, objected to their proceeding until the full Council had assembled; and in vain, too, that the Emperor's commissioner, the Count Candidian, earnestly protested, declaring that the Emperor's design was for a General Council and not a sectional assembly. Cyril was appointed President. Peter the notary read the circular letter sent to the metropolitans. Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, warmly in the interest of Cyril, urged their proceeding with despatch. A messenger sent to summon Nestorius brought back word that that prelate would attend when all the members of the Council had reached Ephesus. A second

messenger reported that he could obtain no access through the guards that surrounded the house. Some bishops, charged with a third summons, came back with no better success. The Council then proceeded to business, examining witnesses as to what they had heard Nestorius say, — one of whom had heard him declare that it was an impious assertion that God could be an infant of two or three months old, — hearing garbled extracts from his letters and sermons, and comparing all this with the Nicene Creed, till after only one session, extending, however, late into the night of that same day, they agreed upon a sentence, which was drawn up in the following words: —

"The most impious heretic, Nestorius, refusing to appear at our citation, and not suffering the holy bishops which we sent to him to enter into his house, we were obliged to examine his cause; and having convicted him of dispensing and teaching an impious doctrine, as hath been proved as well by his letters and other writings as by the sermons which he hath preached in this metropolis, which hath been confirmed by sufficient testimonies, we have been forced, according to the letter of S. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, to pronounce against him this heavy sentence, which we cannot do but with grief: — Our Lord Jesus Christ, against whom Nestorius hath blasphemed, declares him by this synod deprived of his episcopal dignity, and separated from the communion of the episcopal order."

This sentence was made known to Nestorius by a letter, in the superscription of which he was called "another Judas"; and information of their proceedings was sent by the Council to the Emperor, to Constantinople, and to Alexandria. The prelates, on coming forth, were hailed by the shouts of an immense and rude rabble, rejoicing that the honor of the Virgin had been vindicated in the very church where, as it was said, her remains reposed; and songs, illuminations, and other expressions of popular joy filled up the night.

On the 27th of June, John of Antioch, and the twenty-six Eastern bishops that accompanied him, arrived at Ephesus. Some of Cyril's party warned him not to communicate with Nestorius, who had been deposed. But, unwilling to acquiesce in a decision which had been hastily reached, without conference with himself and his friends, who had come so far to give judgment in this

matter, John, "before he had wiped the dust from his shoes," summoned a council in the inn where he stopped; and learning through Candidian, the imperial commissioner, of the irregularity, prejudice, passion, and violence of the Egyptian party, he caused a sentence of deposition to be passed against Cyril and Memnon, anathematized Cyril's chapters, and excommunicated all who persisted in their communion with that heretic.

This was the great, fatal mistake in the history of these proceedings. The cause of Nestorius received its deepest wound in the house of his friends. If the decision of Cyril's faction was to be set aside as the result of an *ex parte* Council, how could John imagine that the summary and violent course of the Eastern bishops could stand in any better light, or share any better fate? They had too much hot blood in them to practise that most successful of all arts, — to remain patient as long as one can keep the other party in the wrong. It seems a great pity that the moderate and sensible course which Nestorius preferred was not followed; for he drew up a history of the whole transaction, which he forwarded to the Emperor, with whom he would leave it to suggest the initiative in the next step that should be taken. Instead of this, for the following three months, Ephesus was the scene of the most scandalous and outrageous broils. Council anathematized council; churches were filled with soldiers; mobs collected in the streets; and rage and clamor, stones, clubs, and the sword, broken heads, and flowing blood, and dying bodies, were the arguments which a frenzied people used to settle an article of their religion. The scene is one of the most striking illustrations of the power of the *odium theologicum* to stir up some of the basest elements of man's depravity; and what possible chance was there, that the truth could be seen and settled amid all that passion and violence?

But all this time, what did the Emperor think of the conduct of his prelates? The weak and undecided Theodosius was greatly perplexed. At his country-house, near Chalcedon, he received eight deputies from each of the two hostile Councils, refusing them audience at his court in Constantinople, through his fear of a tumult among the rabble of monks that thronged the metropolis. With the utmost patience he listened to their charges,

recriminations, quotations from the Fathers, and repetitions of creeds. He was intent all the while to find some compromise that would hush up the present strife; and each party, knowing this to be the first object of the Emperor, became the more clamorous and overbearing in its demands. The temporizing, fluctuating, and imbecile course of Theodosius was disgraceful in the highest degree. Imagining that peace might be restored if the leaders of both factions were out of the way, he decreed that Cyril and Memnon on the one side, and Nestorius on the other, should be deposed. Then comes the history of the arts which Cyril and his party used to procure a revision of this sentence, and to have the decree of deposition fall on Nestorius alone. By bribes freely distributed, wherever such corrupt influence could avail; by promises and threats, which stimulated the popular frenzy to an uncontrollable and almost insane pitch of excitement; by paltry and barefaced tricks, to work upon the superstitious fears of Theodosius, he made the Emperor finally succumb; and, resolving to give up his primate a victim to the Alexandrian tyrant and a sacrifice to the popular rage, Theodosius dismissed the assembled bishops with these words: "God is my witness that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces; and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting."

It is with a sad feeling that we indicate in a single sentence the subsequent fate of Nestorius. Retreating to his ancient monastery at Antioch, he there passed four years in retirement and prayer, whence he was summoned by an edict of the Emperor, which branded him as a foul and impious heretic, condemned his writings to be burned, and banished his person to the Libyan Desert. Here his life was protracted for sixteen years, and, though suffering much from persecution, he prepared many pastoral letters, which exerted a strong influence upon the men of his times. Accounts differ as to the precise cause of his death, though all agree that it was hastened by violence; and the hatred that was felt for his name was long perpetuated by the tradition, that his tomb was "never watered by the rain of heaven." His banishment did not bring that peace which was expected from this

measure. His being branded as a heretic was the cause of the establishment of an independent body of Christians, surviving to this day, and constituting a line of transmission along which the Christian faith has come down to us in another channel than that of the Papal Church; while the history we have now briefly given furnishes ample proof how much of human rashness, folly, and passion mingled in the great Council by which that Church settled its creed and established its authority. H. A. M.

Art. V. — THE EVANGELICAL AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL SPIRIT IN RELIGION.

We propose to gather together, under the above title, some thoughts which are almost daily presented to our minds by our current religious literature. These thoughts attach to the two methods of treating or studying the New Testament. We have, therefore, to discuss some of the relations between the Evangelical and the Philosophical modes of dealing with the Gospel. Perhaps the terms Devotional and Critical, or Devotional and Scientific, would as well answer our purpose and cover our theme.

The Christian faith, in its whole essence and substance, its records, materials, history, and institutions, offers two very distinct points of interest to men, engages two very distinct classes of our human faculties, and suggests two methods and purposes of investigation. All the controversies and discussions which attach to our religion may thus be arranged under two great themes of spiritual and intellectual interest. The one theme has regard to the inner essence and substance of the Gospel; the other is concerned with its external relations to time, history, science, and all other truth. Under one view, we contemplate the Gospel as a disclosure of the relations subsisting between God and man, a scheme for human salvation. Under the other view, the Gospel is subjected to the tests of an inquisitive, if not a sceptical, examination of its own credentials and authority. The one class of our discussions and controversies raises issues

between various parties in the Christian fold, who all profess to believe the Gospel message, while they differ in interpreting it. The other class of discussions and controversies is debated between these believers and those who question the foundations on which they all stand.

The Evangelical view of the Gospel is the application of a devotional or spiritual interest to the substance of the Gospel message. Its aim is to discover and to understand the scheme of doctrinal and practical religion which is taught in the New Testament; to have an intelligible idea of the method there announced for establishing or restoring a true relation between God and men, and to hold with a tenacious fidelity the hope which the Gospel offers. An Evangelical faith accepts the New Testament as an authentic source of knowledge upon every thing that concerns a true religious life. It takes up the sacred volume with a revering, a confiding, and a grateful spirit, regarding it with all the humble and unquestioning trust which could be given to it, if it had been seen to descend from the skies, floating down gently from the heavens into our hands. This Evangelical faith recognizes the inspiration of the New Testament; that is, it recognizes that, either in the literal statements, or in the plain meaning of the records, there is a sacred authority which distinguishes them from all other sources of human knowledge. The records are regarded as containing direct communications from God, disclosures of his will concerning us, his children, and as announcing on what terms his favor is to be secured here and hereafter. The testimony of those records is taken as decisive concerning the relations which now exist, — which exist by nature, as we say, — between God and his children. The Evangelical study of those records aims to learn whether those natural relations need to be changed, and how they may be changed to reconcile earth and heaven. To this end the Bible is studied with a devotion which no words or images can portray. The best thoughts, the silent, deep, and solemn exercises of human minds, are given to it. The best hours of retirement, of sincerity, of sadness or hope, are spent upon it.

The Philosophical method of dealing with our religion is the application to it of the tests of philosophical in-

quiry; the subjecting it to the searching scrutiny of criticism in all its relations to history and science, and to every form and element of truth; the trial of it through the cool and rigid processes by which facts and falsehoods are distinguished. Philosophy, indeed, in a fair and common meaning of the word, has a legitimate and a useful work to do in discussing the facts and the conditions involved in the Evangelical view of the Gospel. But then Philosophy learns instead of teaching; it follows the record, and does not look behind it or beneath it. The more common application of a philosophical spirit or process to the Christian religion is in the way of critical discussion, of sceptical inquiry, of the freest and most searching speculation. It questions the vehicle or instrumentality which is alleged to have been used for conveying truth from God to men; the nature, the materials, the evidences, the effects, the fruits of revelation; the theory and the authentication of miracles, and the general grounds for believing the Gospel to be, as it claims to be, an additional means of knowing the mind of God beyond all the other sources of such knowledge. Philosophy takes up all the questions which curiosity or fancy, a bold inquisitiveness or a restless scepticism, a well-furnished and healthful, or a clouded and hesitating mind, can ask as to the foundations, the materials, the objects, and the warrant for faith, whether found in the consciousness, in the universe, in experience, or in the Bible, and Philosophy works upon these matters in a free way all its own. One needs not to *be* a philosopher in order to pursue this method, only he must *think himself* to be one, and must suppose that he is acting like one.

The difference between the Evangelical and the Philosophical spirit and method as applied to our religion may be illustrated by the two ways of treating a document which professes to be the will of a deceased parent. The children and parties interested in it may take up such a document with an affectionate and reverential spirit, anxious to understand intelligently, and then to follow implicitly all its provisions; to carry out its main intent, and to make their hearty compliance with all that it enjoins a means of proving their love to the testator, and a means of securing their respective shares in its generous bequests. This mode of dealing with a testa-

ment answers to the Evangelical view and use of the Gospel.

But that will, instead of being treated with such filial confidence and respect, may be taken into court and disputed, dividing those concerned in it by many perplexed and painful strifes. Its handwriting may be questioned; the veracity or the competency of its witnesses may be denied; its date, its seal, may be disputed; the terms of the will and its conditions may be sharply criticized, pronounced unreasonable or inconsistent with other known documents or purposes or actions of the testator; and his own title to the property which the will represents may be doubted in the issue. Thus a long suit may be necessary, and all the provisions of the will may be kept in abeyance, and all the wealth of love and means of good which go with it may be buried in chancery till the dispute is closed, if ever it can be closed, without a compromise between the parties to it. This answers, so far as illustration in such a case will answer, to the application of the Philosophical spirit to the Gospel.

Here, then, we have the two leading methods or ways of dealing with the records of the Christian religion; the two widely different purposes with which they are investigated. We have distinguished and defined them with sufficient fulness to answer the purpose now in view. Distinct as these two methods appear in the definition of them, they have many points at which they meet, and they mutually involve views essential to any just or satisfactory dealing with either of them. It is not to be denied, that the perplexities encountered in each of them aggravate the difficulties raised in the other. If an Evangelical scheme appears to controvert or to defy the reasonable conclusions of a fair Philosophy, it must either lose its hold upon the convictions, or look to some other grounds than those furnished by reason for its warrant as a matter of faith. And if Philosophy in any of its critical, scientific, or historical deductions can so weaken the foundations of faith in the records of revelation, as to bring any or all of their contents into doubt, then the Evangelical scheme will no longer have that claim upon our paramount interest that will engage us in the devotional or spiritual study of it which is so quickening now to the zeal and piety of Christian communities. But,

on the other hand, if the Evangelical scheme is so furnished and enforced with overwhelming sanctions as to resist the whole armory of criticism or science, then Philosophy itself must become a docile learner, and must stand before the seated Teacher whose authority of doctrine exceeds that of all other wisdom. The theme opens before us with profound and momentous interest.

Our religious literature, rich as it is in ancient lore on all these religious discussions, is constantly adding to them. They are kept free and fresh to each generation. Our friends and neighbors, the greater and the lesser minds which engage our interest, prove to us that the one or the other of these two methods of religious inquiry enlists all the thought which they give to religion. Let us therefore note the province, the aim, and the fruits of these two methods or purposes of religious inquiry.

The Evangelical spirit in religious inquiry concerns itself with the Christian records, when their authentic, supernatural, and divine authority has been assured, or is taken as established. A communication from God,—that is the title given to the message. Now what does it contain? It contains disclosures concerning the relations subsisting between man and God, as they are changed, rectified, reconciled, by the mediation of Jesus Christ. The aim of mind and heart is to learn precisely what the message communicates as to our own nature and duty and destiny; as to sin, its effects, its penalties, and its remedy; as to the Divine forgiveness, its terms and conditions; as to a future life, its retributions, its woes and joys. The Gospel scheme which is to accomplish such unspeakable results, bringing the greatest of blessings to the world, and offering such a redemption to the individual who can appropriate a share of them to himself, thus becomes the object of a most devout study, of an Evangelical interest. Of course this involves incidentally matters of criticism, of interpretation, of word-wisdom, history, geography, and technical discussions; but these are all *merely* incidental, all subservient to the heart's desire to understand the spiritual significance of the Gospel message. And how differently has this scheme been understood and interpreted Evangelically! That is a poor artifice of bigotry which would appropriate even the word *Evangelical* to a party in the Chris-

tian Church; as if the right of every devout mind to aim for an Evangelical faith depended upon its reaching a forestalled conclusion. As well might the whole language be restricted to a sect, and dictionaries be made the exclusive prerogatives of a presbytery, a convention, or a consociation. The word *Evangelical* is a Christian and not a sectarian word, — it is the baptismal name of our faith, not of one of our parties, — and it covers the spirit and the aim of all those who are revering students of the Gospel and disciples of its truth.

But to what a marvellous variety in conclusions, or results, has the study of the Evangelical scheme been pursued! The very term *scheme*, or *plan*, applied to the Gospel method of salvation, has raised the expectation of some ingenious device, or some complicated, intricate agency involved in it. The controversies of Christians within their own fold have for ages been concerned with the explication of this Evangelical scheme. To some it has presented a most simple, though an august and effective method, intelligible, as its advocates affirm, to every mind, worthy of God and sufficient for man, adapted to every age and clime of the earth, offering no mystery, no perplexity, and expressing its whole conditions in the two commandments of love to God and love to man. From this, the simplest view of the Gospel scheme of salvation, we may pass successively through a scale of different views of it, each having some peculiar element of belief or observance. There is the sacramental element of the creed of Rome, the prelatical element of episcopacy, the metaphysical or enigmatical element of Calvinism, and the lesser denominational elements of different sects. Then various tokens, seals, and observances, such as baptism or immersion, confirmation, confession or absolution, or reception into some visible fold representing the final adjustment of the Great Day, are made to serve as authenticating a personal immunity or a personal security to an individual, in reference to the Gospel scheme. From one or another of these differing elements, of doctrinal divinity, or priestly mediation, or ecclesiastical unity, or denominational policy, a speculative or coöperative efficiency is derived, which is made essential in the exposition and the efficacy of the Gospel scheme of salvation. The main issue,

however, is between that simple view of the scheme which recommends itself to us, and that enigmatical view of it which originated with Augustine, was developed by Calvin, and has been elaborated by a host of theologians ever since. The Gospel scheme of salvation, this is the object of interest to the Evangelical Christian. The attempt is made to appropriate the epithet to that complicated, abstruse, doctrinal system just referred to. As that system is so antagonistic to our own views, — as it bears with it so much of the profession and zeal and piety of Christians, and represents in various modifications the ostensible creed of millions, and has wrought much holy and blessed work, — we must pause upon it.

This complicated, metaphysical view of the Gospel scheme, which would monopolize the epithet Evangelical, regards the New Testament as containing a system of doctrinal divinity which develops a marvellously original, peculiar, and unique theory of the relations between God and man, — a theory which reason could never have devised, and which often shocks or startles reason. Bodies of Divinity, Creeds, Catechisms, and Confessions have for ages elaborated, restated, pruned, and qualified the substance of this doctrinal system. It by no means excludes philosophy. But the philosophy which this system admits is a philosophy all its own, utterly unlike all ancient or modern theories or processes under the name of philosophy, — unlike, too, the philosophy which the disciples of the system practise in their own highest earthly interests, in business, courts of law, or social intercourse. It is maintained that there is a distinctive and eccentric system in Christian divinity, as truly as there is in jurisprudence, or in any branch of physics, — one that is its own, bearing unique and characteristic peculiarities. The facts which this system contemplates are, that there is an existing enmity between men and God, — an enmity not originating with each generation of human offenders, and not reconcilable by a single individual of them on his own part; and that the Gospel has made a reconciliation possible by a method of singular power. The theory is briefly this: — God created our first parents holy and pure, and capable of rendering him due allegiance, and of finding thus a perfect happiness. They acted in behalf of all the millions of millions of

their race. The next incident, appallingly dark to our minds, is this: those two fair creatures, the first of God's human offspring, on whom such almost infinite responsibilities rested, were, in some unexplained way, subjected to the influence of the Devil, who had more power over them for evil, than their blessed Maker had for good. And they fell. The earth's brightest hope sunk in woe. The race of Adam was cursed. His whole posterity, being constructively present with him in the garden of Eden, fell with him, inheriting depravity with its risks and consequences. God in his mercy devised a plan of redemption. He cannot forgive a single sin nor a single sinner, on the simple terms by which Christ requires us, depraved as we are, to forgive. Simple repentance and amendment of life will not meet the conditions of God's violated law, for his offended justice requires redress. He therefore takes upon himself a fleshly form, which, by its connection with his own Divinity, partakes of an infinite efficacy when it is sacrificed on the cross. Faith in that sacrifice *as wrought for just this purpose* works an inward, radical change in the sinner, which, as begun and made effectual through the Spirit, a third co-personality in the Godhead, renders the subject of it a partaker in the virtue of that sacrifice, and thus an heir of immortal bliss, rescued from the eternal penalty of sin. No hope is offered to a single soul except by that process. The infinite love of God is compressed within that one channel to the thoughts and feelings of men. Hell yawns to receive all who fail of it.

Those who have maintained this view of the Gospel scheme, when carrying it into particulars, have raised many dividing issues in the definition of terms and the construction of formulas. But they have agreed essentially in those views of the scheme which give it its distinctive character. As has been already remarked, the scheme has a philosophy of its own. It certainly needs one. This is shown and brought into use to meet the objections which reason offers to the scheme. If at any point the scheme is challenged because it affronts or confounds the instinctive sense of equity or reverence in us, it has answers drawn from this, — its own philosophy. Thus Luther distinctly says: "If God's justice were such that human intelligence might recognize its equity,

it evidently would not be Divine justice, and would not be one whit different from human justice."* Two sorts of justice! This is certainly increasing, instead of relieving, the burden on human reason. So, whenever human reason, to which revelation must, of course, make its first appeal, encounters and staggers at any obstacle in this scheme, the difficulty is turned by a phrase: as Edwards uses the phrases, "the Sovereign Power," or "the unsearchable counsel of God," to silence the objector. "God's glory," he says, "is an ultimate end of the Creator." "God manifests a supreme and ultimate regard to himself in all his works." Quite a different sort of writer — the sentimental Hervey, he of the "Meditations" — says: "To the making of a world there was no obstacle; but to the saving of man there seemed to be insurmountable bars. Who can suggest a method to absolve the traitorous race, yet vindicate the honors of Almighty Sovereignty? This is an intricacy which the most exalted of finite intelligences are unable to clear."† If we say that the scheme seems to us to dictate to God the terms within which alone he can exercise even his prerogative of mercy, we are told that Scripture, by implication, defines those terms in its revelation of the attributes of God.

The confident assurance of many of the advocates of this system claims for it an effective and irresistible power, as having the full warrant of the Gospel, and the triumphant tests of much personal experience; that, while it reveals the wisdom of God, it has also proved the power of God unto salvation. But at every point the system is assailable by the most honest arguments and objections, and not the least so in its appeals to experimental proofs. How many it has wholly alienated from the Gospel, hardened in sin, given over to despair, or confounded and perplexed, in the most earnestly sincere efforts which men and women can make for peace with God, God alone knows. How many, not of the reckless, the earth-bound, or the undevout, but of those whose purity of spirit and intensity of conscience have marked them as God's elect on the earth, — how many of the meek, the sincere, and the pious, — have failed to find

* Op. II. Wittemberg, 485. † Contemplations of the Starry Heavens.

in that system either a key to the Bible, or a heavenly message to their own hearts! What multitudes of earnest seekers after peace with God have been driven to despair by that scheme! Its advocates have often numbered its adherents, but do they ever number those whom it fails to win? After all the excitement and machinery of a revival, one may count, perhaps, a score of converts, and the preacher rejoices over them. But what will he say of the hundreds who have been utterly unconvinced by his appeals, many of whom are made to doubt the sincerity and the reasonableness of all religion? He knows that his converts, so far as the keenest scrutiny of man can judge, are not one whit superior, by any moral or religious distinction, to an equal number of persons among those unconvinced by his distinctive views. Those who have been subjected to the appeals and the influence of this system are millions in each generation, its converts are only thousands; many of these have needed a reconversion, and many have then fallen away, making shipwreck of faith, if not also of a good conscience.

For several reasons, which might be mentioned, we must refuse to regard each adherent and disciple of this system as an independent voucher for its Scriptural or its experimental character. There is scarce any other form of speculative belief, scarce any other religious system in Christendom, which owes more than does this of Calvinism to all those dogmatic, contagious, and sympathetic influences which are so skilfully and so effectively used alike by its most powerful and by its weakest advocates, notwithstanding the constant assertion, that the system recognizes the freest Protestantism and the fullest liberty of private judgment. Indeed, in our own minds, we restrict the number of the real disciples of Calvinism to the circle of its clerical or its scholastic advocates. We regard its laical testimonies as but few, and as of but doubtful value. Our own personal acquaintance with individuals in full communion with Calvinism assures us that the opinions which they nominally hold often find their warrant, not so much in independent inquiry and conviction, as in an authoritative or sympathetic influence which has been gained over their minds or feelings by others. Each new convert, in passing through

the technical "experience" of Calvinism, is continually told how others have felt, and how he ought to feel; and therefore it is not strange that he should think he has the same feelings, nor strange that he even should have them.

The alleged belief of great companies of persons in any set of doctrinal propositions is a thing to be doubted. We very often hear reference made to "the faith in which our Puritan fathers lived and died"; as if that faith were indicated by a fixed standard, the exact quantity, quality, and substance of it being ascertainable as a matter of fact. The reference to such a "faith" may be allowed for some general purposes, and a superficial knowledge of past history may not dispose one to bring it into question. But if the matter is looked into with a scrutinizing eye, it will be found that our fathers had no such perfect amity and accordance in their faith. The fact, that the first two colleague ministers of the First Church in Boston each prepared a rival catechism for the children of the flock, and took a different side in that bitter controversy on Antinomianism which was opened before they had been ten years on this soil, is a fair index to the character of all our ecclesiastical history. The doctrinal tenets which were thought to constitute the very life of religion were held in such a way among our fathers, that each divine of a strong and independent mind was constantly working upon them as if for his own better satisfaction. If he was moved to write upon them, he was sure to introduce some qualifications or abatements of them, availing himself to the utmost of the little liberty left to him within the creed. For this he was equally sure to be taken in hand by some zealous champion. So a strife was opened, and each partisan was supported by more or less of the laity, who were thus proved to be in such a state of mind as indicated a want of complete satisfaction, a readiness for discussion, and a desire to avail themselves of every thing that might promise to soften or humanize their creed. A faithful history of the ancient religious institutions of New England is yet to be written, from the abundant materials for it in church records, proceedings of councils, interleaved almanacs, pamphlet controversies, diaries, letters, and town registers. These will be found to be but too faithful witnesses

to all the passions and infirmities whose workings they portray. They will show that each of our older churches has its discreditable story, incident to some issue raised by its objectionable or ineffective theology. The attempts to "starve out" too rigid or too liberal ministers, the packing of "councils," the trials of heretics, the thankless efforts to awaken the "ungodly," the scarcely more successful efforts to keep alike the "first love" of the "godly," the lamentations over the "decline of piety," which are found to be all the more earnest the farther back we trace them, and therefore to have been the most intense at the very date which is assigned for the golden age of "the faith"; — these tokens, together with the steady increase in every congregation of the number of those who became utterly hardened, indifferent, unbelieving, or desirous of some more Scriptural and practical dispensation of religion, will reveal some facts which bear hard upon the experimental boasts of Calvinism.

To our minds, one of the most vulnerable points which Calvinism offers, in view of its appeal to experience, is found in the languid, the unrealizing, and evidently distrustful spirit in which its dreadful tenets are held by those who profess them. How few of its disciples actually face its appalling doctrines, and have the nerve to apply them in the actual intercourse of life! How few seem to realize their terrific operation, *if they are true!* Humane men and women, who would rush out of their dwellings with the courage and sympathy which real distress awakens, if they heard that a neighbor's house was on fire, and only one single *body* was in danger of perishing in the flames, will meet the inmates of that dwelling in the quiet and pleasant courtesies of daily life, while *professing to believe* that their *souls* are destined to everlasting burnings. Pillars of Calvinistic churches, whose creed assures them that the heathen can be saved only through the labors of missionaries, will spend a thousand dollars on some personal luxuries and contribute ten dollars to the Mission treasury. Parents who regard each new-born child as, *theoretically*, an heir of Divine wrath, are not thereby withheld from bringing into existence a whole family of children, — not, certainly, as offerings to Moloch, but in dreadful uncertainty as to whether they shall be the subjects of the renewing grace of God,

or be for ever separated from them in the retributions of the last day. And whenever a disciple of Calvinism, moved by the irresistible yearnings of affection toward a friend, or by the manifest evidence of true piety in a neighbor who denies and withstands his own creed, attempts to relax the severity of that creed towards him, the inconsistency of his course is very apparent, though it is of an amiable character. Some Calvinists, when asked what is to become of their unbelieving friends and companions, who are their equals at least in all Christian excellence, are evidently in a dilemma. Their doom is an awful one, according to the theory, for even their "righteousness" only deepens their guilt. Any hope which may be indulged concerning them is so far destructive, utterly destructive, to the theory of Calvinism. It is as if Noah had taken pity on all his friends and neighbors, as he floated by them on the rising waters, and had lifted them one by one into the ark. Either the ark would have sunk overloaded from the incapacity of its dimensions, as designed only for the rescue of one family from the whole population of the globe; or if a miraculous power imparted to the ark had enabled it to float with all whom pity might invite into it, then the result would have been more directly gained by the omission of the flood.

If there be such a marked, distinctive, and divine peculiarity in this system as isolates it from all the theories and processes of which reason is judge, it might seem that one who had accepted this system, and been acclimated and indoctrinated, body and soul, by it, would enjoy an inward, unwavering assurance, an almost magical defence, against distrust or a falling away. But so it has not proved. The confessions made by some of the most eminent and honored defenders of this system, in their diaries and correspondence, show that they have by no means found a constant or a complete peace in their experimental test of that process by which reconciliation to God was theoretically assured to them. What mournful confessions are those in the diary of the eminent Dr. Payson! The uncertainty and anxiety as to whether one has partaken of the grace of God through that doctrinal scheme, have continually obtruded themselves in moments when a sweet assurance was most needed. The

human heart has seldom found an unbroken rest in a theory so complicated, so unlike to all other mental processes, so involved with risks of self-delusion and heart-blindness. That same Satan, about whose first agency in human woe there is such a dark and appalling mystery, seems to follow up his antagonism to God in the believer's heart. For some of the disciples of this scheme have sadly affirmed, that even Satan might cunningly suggest to a reprobate the delusive conviction that he was one of the elect, while at the very time he was damned; and that God might prostrate the best-grounded hope of salvation by withdrawing his face. The depressing misgivings of some of the saints of this school of divinity have proved that their warmest and most rejoicing confidence might yield to the most appalling despair.

Who can fail to observe, in reading the Memoir and Letters of the excellent John Foster, the tokens of a depressing melancholy, not wholly to be ascribed to his temperament, but deepened, if not generated, by his *creed*. We see a sad, introspective self-examination, a gloomy view of the interests even of his own most cherished friends, a desponding tone, a painful struggling against the inferences plainly following from his doctrinal scheme. The small number of the elect, — of those who even wished to avail themselves of the Gospel remedy; the dread and unutterable significance of the doctrine of the eternal torment of the unsanctified in this life; — how did Foster brood over those dreary thoughts! Observe, too, his remarks upon the motives addressed in the common appeals in behalf of missions to the heathen. Those appeals, says Foster, assert that God has made "the salvation or perdition of undefined millions of our race" to depend upon the will of man to carry to them the Gospel. That is, the destiny of millions of the children of God is decided, not by any attribute of the Heavenly Father, not even by their own use of the light which they have, but by the contents of a contribution-box at a monthly concert for missions!

There is, indeed, a deep melancholy diffused over Foster's writings. The pure, gentle spirit of the man seems to have been steeped in sadness, because, while the scheme of his theology engaged his every emotion, thought, and interest, his human heart struggled intensely

against its painful application to his fellow-creatures. He could not, like Dr. Samuel Hopkins, resolve the eternal agonies of the reprobate into a manifestation of the love of God, — a most sweet, serene, and holy token of Divine justice. The word *pensive* will be found to be of constant, even of wearisome recurrence in the Letters of John Foster. The word and the feeling were distilled out of his heart by his creed. It may be, too, that his own "Essay upon the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion" would have been brightened in its views, had he really met the problem in this form: Why are literary and cultivated men averse to my views of religion, seeing that all the gems of our Christian literature have been produced or are cherished by this same class of persons?

Justice Coleridge bade his friend, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, when troubled by doubts of this doctrinal system, "to pause in his inquiries, to pray earnestly for help and light from above, and turn himself more strongly than ever to the practical duties of a holy life." And another friend of the doubter writes: Arnold "scruples doing what I advise him, which is, to put down the objections [to the Trinity] by main force, whenever they arise in his mind, fearful that in so doing he shall be violating his conscience for a maintenance." *

How much evidence would our religious literature and the searchings of Christian hearts afford us of the same sad fruits, misgivings, and dreads, as arising from the Augustinian or Calvinistic interpretations of the Evangelical scheme! We once heard a venerable Christian woman of ninety years, and for more than half a century a most estimable member of a Baptist church, express herself thus. She rose to speak a farewell in a last interview, holding in her hand the Bible, which, as her whole library, she had read over and over with a sweet fidelity of piety. Questions of philosophy, of criticism, of science, of miracles, were nothing to her; they had never entered her mind, nor given her a cause of doubt. It was the Gospel scheme of salvation for which she had been searching by her humble fireside, for long years, and she spoke at this parting the result. Using the least positive, the humblest, meekest, and most hesitating tone,

* Stanley's Life of Arnold, Amer. ed., pp. 24, 25.

as if she feared that a too confident word might turn her faint hope into a boast, and so destroy it, she said: "I think, if I am not deceived, if I am not deluded, that I may feel as if I had a reasonable hope." Poor, faint-hearted Christian! How complicated and obscure must have been, to thy meek confidence in man's schemes, the revelation of God's love through Christ! Did he, the Master, make the method of forgiveness and assurance so dark a problem to the women of Israel, whose sins he pardoned for their love, and whose trust he appointed to be commemorated for ever in the preaching of his Gospel? It may be said, however, that that humble hope took in so glorious a prospect, that even the faintest vision of it was a joy more than sufficient to crown a long Christian life. Very true. But when we consider that the alternative of that hope was the prospect of everlasting burnings, that hesitating confidence must have been a burden to the spirit.

And this leads to brief remark upon the use to which the Scriptures are turned in the exposition or the defence of this complicated view of the Evangelical scheme. In general, the Gospels are but little used in its statement or support. The Sermon on the Mount and the Parables of the Saviour, so direct in their lessons of practical righteousness, are overlooked for the sake of the Epistles, and for the technical terms in which St. Paul expresses his own personal experience and controversies. Among one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four printed sermons of John Calvin, not a single one has a text from either of the Gospels. How ingeniously and perversely, in our view, are certain Scripture texts employed for this scheme, in defiance of grammar, reason, history, and the rules of language; and how tenaciously do many of its advocates cling to words and phrases in the sense which perverted constructions and associations have gathered around them! Sentences from the Book of Job which his tormentors spoke rashly, and which are silenced in the reply of the sufferer, are alleged as the very utterances of God on the guilt of human nature. The great revival text, "What must I do to be saved?" is taken from the mouth of a pagan turnkey, as if all at once, by an intuitive flash of thought, he had divined the whole scheme of doctrinal divinity, and had reached that

stage of compunctious experience which is now called *conviction*. How perversely is that text construed which reads, "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin"; and that text which reads, "Jesus thought it not robbery to be equal with God"; — a construction utterly inconsistent with the argument of Paul, who is asserting the Saviour's humility, — a grace which would be strikingly denied in his claiming an equality with God, "who put all things under him." The words, "Great is the mystery of godliness," are used as if *godliness*, instead of meaning holiness of life, or piety, meant the triple constitution of the Divine co-personality. Indeed, this system fails to explain more than one half of the Bible in consistency with its own terms, and leaves us to ask unanswered a host of questions fairly involved in its conditions. If the fact that man sins can be accounted for only by supposing that he was born with a depraved nature, how are we to account for Adam's sinning when he was created with a holy nature? But if sin in Adam can be accounted for without supposing his nature to have had an original taint, why may not sin in us be accounted for without referring it to an inborn depravity? If Adam had been a father before his fall, would a son of his have perpetuated a pure race on this earth? How were the pure and good of ancient days made partakers of the grace of God, if only the vicarious death of Christ could win God's mercy? The whole science of moral philosophy is distracted with inextricable confusion by this view of human nature. Hobbes and Mandeville alone could profit by it. Professor Whewell tells us, that, when the distinctive principles of Christianity were first introduced into the systems of moral philosophy in England, the tenet of man's corruption by nature "was put in a strong point of view, when it was held that he was so perverted as not only not to be able to *do*, but not able even to *know* what was good."*

We may not speak with contempt or levity of this view of the Evangelical scheme. It has had noble and heroic champions, pious and devoted witnesses, meek and faithful disciples. The love and service of some of the purest of our race have been given to it. Men richly endowed by God, men refined and sanctified by highest

* History of Moral Philosophy in England, p. 58.

culture, men of scholarship, of gravity and piety and all other gifts and graces, with women the elect of their devouter sex, the lofty and the humble, the ignorant and the wise, the gracious and the stern, have given to this scheme of doctrine their whole heart's zeal and love and confidence. It has wrought great works in the world. John Eliot, the saintly disciple in the wilderness, toiled to match the dread doctrines of Calvin with the endless gutturals of the Delaware tongue, and Samuel Hopkins succeeded in grinding up the granite quarries of the Divine Decrees into a digestible pap which has grown into the muscles of New England theology, so called.

No! we may not speak contemptuously of the system. Yet we cannot believe that, as the explication of the Evangelical scheme, it is authenticated either by its substantial elements, or by its experimental proofs, or by the warrant of Scripture. The system is bold, inhuman, relentless, and unreasonable. It begins by forcing even God into a dilemma, and by representing his moral government as in an emergency, — not to say a quandary. It denies the existence in human nature of any thing that can serve as the basis of a self-recuperative religious effort; and it leaves the assurance of Divine grace on which the heart might rely subject to painful apprehension even in the elect. The scheme is burdened with paradoxes, requiring wisdom to be regarded as folly, — not in the sense of St. Paul, — and announcing to us the judgments of a Divine law on our disabled nature, and invoking upon us the estranging wrath of a loving Father. Man, great in his origin and in some surviving element of his being, and capable through some transmuting process of a destiny of unspeakable grandeur, is, nevertheless, an archangel ruined. A little child who is not expected to know any thing until he is taught, and with whom we are satisfied if he learns spelling, reading, and writing, after patient effort, and the use of means, is expected to come into the world full furnished by instinct with a knowledge of the holy law of God, of the highest motives of duty, and heartily disposed to perform it. And if the weak little creature in the cradle has not that Divine knowledge by nature, without painful learning, then he is pronounced a young fiend and doomed to woe. The scheme of doctrine is called a "humbling"

one, and yet it ministers to a pride in many of the elect, than which all the exhibitions of vanity and conceit can offer nothing more odious and self-elated. The doctrines themselves are called "doctrines of grace." But if the grace of God were restricted in this life within the narrow limits by which it is doctrinally bounded for another life, existence in this world would be intolerable to the vast majority of human beings. The dreamy philosopher Whichcote, while wandering in an abstract mood through the streets of Cambridge, saw two boys fighting; running to separate them, he cried out in amazement, "What! moral entities, and yet pugnacious?" Poor human nature! Dark as is its problem, Calvinism does not lighten it, nor throw any thing but the shadow of the Scriptures across it.

Let us turn now to a simpler view of the Evangelical scheme. This finds in the Gospel scheme no declared inability in man to do his duty, no implication of a child in the guilt of a father, no obstacle in one attribute of God to the exercise of another attribute of God. It recognizes a simple but most august basis of a true religion in the law of right living before man and God. It rests upon such plain precepts as are found in the Sermon on the Mount, in the two great commandments, in the sublime announcement by which Gentiles were first invited into the Christian fold: "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." This scheme will meet the force of each illustrative parable of the Saviour; that of the seed sown; that of the laborers in the vineyard; that of the talents; that of the pearl of great price; that of building on a rocky foundation; and that precious and beautiful parable which is a deadly arrow in the vitals of Calvinism, the parable of the Prodigal Son. This is the scheme, which, simple as it is, was a mystery hid from ages; which prophets and kings failed to conceive; into which even the angels in vain desired to look; for its simplicity baffled them, — a simplicity such as belongs only to a work of God, who was not driven into an emergency, but working out a long plan. There is nothing mystical, nothing magical, nothing metaphysical, nothing enigmatical, in this scheme. It takes the epithet *Father*, applied to God; the epithet

child of God, applied to man; and the epithet *Mediator*, applied to Christ. Here are the three parties in this simple Gospel scheme. Sin, repentance, salvation, are the themes involved in this mediation. Love and faith are the agencies for rectifying the relations of child and father. Jesus Christ has the revering trust, the devout and obedient homage of the heart, that enters into the power of his life and of his cross. Judgment is for the deeds done in the body, not for a nature wrecked in Eden. Man, not God, is the party to be reconciled, and Christ's death appeals to us, not to the dread sovereignty of the Almighty.

When it is objected, that, if this be the substance of the Gospel scheme, it is but a republication of the religion of nature, — we may reply, that the religion of nature is just what is needed; what all the world needs and groans for; the only kind of religion which all the world can receive, understand, and obey; the very religion of the soul, of practical duty, of a revering and obedient life. Any attempt to make the Gospel message something different from this, will at once deprive it of the very element of its universality and power. Piety and righteousness will never rise to their true regard among human beings, till it is believed to have been worthy of God to have made a special revelation, — the hope and the joy of man, — solely to announce their paramount claims. That the simple law of moral rectitude be estimated at its own vital value, we must regard it as addressing itself to man only with a most fitting display of its august majesty, when attended with all the array of prophecy and miracle, of inspiration, and of the sacrifice on Calvary. If the wisest of heathen sages could cause his name to float down on the stream of time by having spoken the words, "From heaven came the counsel, 'Man, know thyself'"; it is enough for the everlasting memorial of the Saviour, that he said, "This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent!"

Celsus, the first of the philosophical enemies of the Gospel, said: "He must be void of understanding who can believe that Greeks and barbarians, in Asia, Europe, and Libya, all nations to the ends of the earth, can unite in the reception of one and the same religious doctrine."

Now this is the very result at which the Gospel aims, and which it will yet accomplish. But will the result be attained through a metaphysical, enigmatical system of doctrinal theology, or through a religion of practical duty? How different an idea of religion does one receive from the parables of the Saviour, with their persuasive morals, and from the technicalities of the Epistles, with all their controversial incrustations!

So simple is this other view of the Evangelical scheme. The simplicity of it is its offence. But does not its very simplicity, in going to the root of the matter, and in offering a view of religion as practical duty and piety which can be preached, approved, and practised in every clime of the earth, in the islands of the seas, and by all people, — does not this simplicity commend the scheme as worthy of God; as a seemingly weak thing, which can confound the mighty; as the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation? Why turn away from this "simplicity that is in Christ," to torture out an intricate, metaphysical, or mystical scheme? If any secret, spiritual, inexplicable processes of the inner being, or any relations of peculiar heart-reverence and sympathy and trust towards Jesus Christ, are needed to make the Gospel effective for salvation, they are MEANS. They are requisite, of vital necessity. These and many more such sentiments and emotions and exercises are requisite as helping influences, but righteousness of heart and life is the end. There may indeed be room for much difference of opinion as to the place which Christ is to hold in this view of the Evangelical system, — as to the nature and conditions of faith in him, as to his present agency in his Church, and as to his place in the believer's heart relatively to the place which he himself assigns to God in that heart. It is obvious that these questions are in part decided in one way for all who adopt this view of the Gospel, and that, in so far as they are not thus decided, they must be left open to the varieties of sentiment, susceptibility, and sympathetic tenderness in the temperament of each disciple. We are constrained, however, to insist that this individuality of decision rests wholly with temperament, and is not a matter of the logical intellect. Some persons love a definite, close, and sharply distinguished view of the nature of Christ,

and will admit no conception which is not thus clearly defined. Others love to lose themselves in the reveries of mystery and mysticism in all such matters. But the intellectual view of Christ which characterizes this system may consist with a sentiment concerning him which shall have either the coolness of a philosophic stoicism, or the tender pietism of the Moravians.

These two extreme views of the Evangelical scheme furnish the themes of earnest religious interest, as well as of exciting controversy, among believers, who are thus all Evangelical Christians. The intense zeal which students, thinkers, and leaders of thought show in verifying and sounding the great issues thus opened, is evidence that they have got hold of something which is kindred to all the truth of the universe. Whether the path to the central truth is through a perplexing labyrinth, or by a straight way on, is the question debated. Meanwhile the strong point of the one scheme answers, as usual, to the weak point of the other scheme. In the exercise of that candor which gives more strength to a conviction than any contempt of adversaries will afford, we will seek to strengthen our own weakness by acknowledging and imitating the piety that is not our own.

We pass now to the Philosophical treatment of our religion. While the interest of all equally confiding believers in the Christian revelation is thus engaged in finding and availing themselves of the Gospel method of salvation, there is another class who are applying the tests of criticism and speculation and science to the records, the substance, the elemental principles, the evidences, operations, and results of the Christian religion. The Gospel is thus subjected to a searching and keen-eyed scrutiny, both as to its source and its message. It is brought to the bar of a judicial trial; is examined and cross-examined through its witnesses; its unsupported assertions are disputed; it is required to answer questions which it refuses to answer; it is visited with the dimming distrust which antiquity gathers around all venerable things. There is no ingredient in the whole composition of the Gospel or its records, there is no elemental or composite fact wrought into its doctrine or history, which this searching, unsparing Philosophy does

not bring under discussion. Even the existence, or the personality, or the intelligence, or the communicativeness of that Divine Source to which the Gospel is referred, is questioned with equal freedom with the claim of inspiration for the record itself. Or, if God is taken by the Philosophical critic to be an admitted fact in the universe, then he is confronted with the method alleged to have been chosen by him for revealing his will through a book; while his right to work miracles, and his ability to prove that he has wrought them, are debated as freely as men and women discuss each other's talents, characters, actions, and property. If this trial of the Gospel by the tests of Philosophy could show itself in a visible form, we should see physics and metaphysics, geology and mesmerism, astronomy and chronology, archæology and mythology, the ghosts of old Egypt and the winged bulls of Nineveh, Spinozism and Hegelianism, science and history, and, in addition, "The Soul, with its Sorrows and Aspirations," each and all levelling their spears, and seeking to find a vital part in the Gospel at which they may aim. The trial is severe, the conflict is earnest; the issue at stake, what mortal man can weigh or measure, in any words which estimate the interests of this world?

The relations between the Evangelical and the Philosophical modes of dealing with our religion are sufficiently stated or implied in the definition of their separate aims. These two processes open every theme of thought which religion has ever opened to men, and keep them before our minds with a fresh, if not a novel interest. They embrace all that is profound, exciting, and perplexing to human thought. They suspend the religious convictions and hopes of our race. We may indeed doubt whether the sphere of modern thought is really so much enlarged as we assume it to be; but it seems as if it were, and in that seeming lie new trials and risks. A distrust of the evidence of miracles, and an excessive desire for it, may often originate in and attach to precisely the same state of mind, as a careful analysis will prove. The very same Thomas, whose faith in the recognition of the features of his Master needed a miraculous token to assure it, would, if he were living now, and had seen no such token, be the most earnest arguer for the insufficiency or the impossibility of a miracle.

Indeed, there has been as much that is *irrational* in the speculations of the rationalists themselves, as can be found in some of the most amazing superstitions that have ever had prevalence.

To adjust the relations between these two great themes of all religious interest, is a task for the good and wise who are yet to be born. There is an intense and unsparing persistency of purpose in the trial of the Gospel by modern sceptics. The trial is all the more vigorously pursued, because it is instituted by those who have gained skill in debating the Evangelical question. The Evangelical and the Philosophical parties have indeed many points of common interest; but points at which they meet only to diverge again. Thus, both parties are equally interested in the earliest ages and the most remote antiquities of the Church; but it is because the one party wishes to learn what the Gospel scheme of salvation was then understood to be; and because the other party would look to the very sources of the religion to detect fact or fable. Heathens and heathenism equally engage the interest of both parties. But while the one party wishes to decide the relations of the heathen to the Gospel scheme, or to rescue them from the pit, the other party hopes to find in the traditions and rites of heathenism the glimmerings of a once entire and universal faith. A grim idol is to one party a shocking token of the darkest debasement of the soul; to the other party it is a pet, an oracle of fond respect.

We are left to mediate between these two parties in Christendom, to heed them both, and to study all their open questions. Do the controversies involved in the discussion of the Evangelical scheme connect themselves with the trial-tests of the critical, the speculative, the sceptical Philosophy? Do the perplexities of the one class of questions promise to yield by the clearing up of those in the other class of questions? Will the old distinction between the internal and the external evidences come to our aid, so that the inner truth shall fortify the outer framework which incloses it? We may depend upon it, that the Christian faith cannot traverse all climes and ages, and find a universal prevalence, and work its highest mission, if it is burdened with an antagonism to science and history and philosophy, and with

an antagonism to the reason and natural sentiments and best thoughts of well-meaning men. We must abate its metaphysical perplexities, and relieve its philosophical difficulties, before we can bid it rule the world.

While it would not be just to charge upon the Calvinistic view of the Evangelical scheme the burden of exciting, through its own perplexity and repulsiveness, all the scepticism which, under the name and style of Philosophy, has attacked the foundations of Christian faith, it is but fair to say, that scepticism has been made hearty, stern, and resolut e in its scrutiny, because embittered by the severity of a prevailing doctrinal creed. Distrustfulness of the truth of revelation has often first made itself felt in hearts and minds that have been grappling with the dark problems offered to them in the Augustinian or Calvinistic theology. If now the simple view of the Gospel scheme, as requiring righteousness of life for its great condition, process, and end, and making small account of doctrinal speculations, — if this scheme should be found to win the general accordance of Christians, — the sceptic may be more willing or more able to discern in such a religion reasons for identifying its revelations with a God, with the attributes of God, with a point of time in the world's history, and with miracles and inspiration as its natural evidences. Will any other than the simplest, the least perplexed and intricate, any other than the most practical view of the Gospel, be able to stand all the tests which doubt and philosophy can bring to bear upon it? Can we meet a caviller of any kind with dogmatics, so well as with pure, august, and practical truth, — that which has an answering echo to it in his own heart, conscience, and life? A religion for this life is what is now felt to be needed. Time was when, under some exhibitions of religion, individuals here and there were driven almost into frenzy to secure their own personal election, as if the whole problem of the universe was involved in their single rescue from the appalling fate of the lost, just as the most timid and selfish snatch at the boat in a shipwreck. But this has ceased to be the absorbing religious interest of the most generous minds. All the reforming efforts of the present age have tended to bring Christianity to a trial; to prove whether

its strength lies in practical righteousness, and tends to secure *that;* to decide whether it has an operating energy to move and rectify the world, or is only the solace of individual minds and hearts, assuring them of their personal escape from the future doom of the multitude of our race.

How arduous and responsible does the office of a religious teacher become, in view of all the questions and controversies thus opened! The whole philosophy of heaven and of earth is thrown into the public streets. Themes which in ancient days were faintly intimated in whispers, with finger pressed on lip, in token either of reverence for God or fear of man, are now the very staple of common discussion. The only hiding-place of faith is out of doors. Men have taken literally the Scripture rhetoric, "I said ye men are gods"; and some reply, "Yes, and there is no God elsewhere than on the earth." The open agitation of all the issues raised by the discussion of the themes we have referred to greatly complicates the task of Christian preachers and expositors. The question frequently before the mind of the minister is, Shall I yield to a devotional or a philosophical strain? Shall I take faith in the Scriptures as assured, and appeal, and warn, and exhort, and console from them? or shall I labor to commend them, not only to the conscience, but to the sceptical mind? Shall I preach as to believers or to unbelievers? That our congregations contain some of both these classes, and that the ministers know it, and are somewhat embarrassed as to the style of preaching that is most needed, is perhaps one reason of the inefficacy of preaching.

It is advised by many persons, that ministers should reintroduce expository lectures on the Bible for an afternoon service. But how immense is the field that would thus be opened for discussion, and how questionable as to edification in the dealing with it! When Robinson and Hunter and Doddridge pursued that course, they took the Bible just as it stands, assured and unquestioned by any of the assaults of an undermining criticism, and they sought to interpret it solely for instructive and devotional uses. Now an expounder in one of our societies would need to divide his attention between the religious improvement of what is plainly or obscurely

written, and such perplexing matters as the cosmogony of Moses, or the harmonizing of Kings and Chronicles, or the theory of myths, or the philosophical authentication of miracles.

But it may not be, that, just as our Bible societies are multiplying by millions the precious book, it should be discovered to be filled with worthless legends. No reach of philosophical effrontery will ever persuade the world of that; for the world is too old and too wise in the experience of its own ignorance to believe that. It may not be, that, when a dangerous civilization is most making us feel the need of a pure and operative religion, it should be discovered that there is no passage-way through the dome of heaven for light and truth and hope to come to us, and none to come if there was. It may not be, that, when the mind of man is just feeling the glow of its own inspiration, it should discover that there is no more of inspiration in the universe than what has been breathed into our poor clay. No! God will not leave wholly uncheered any deep desire or necessity which he has communicated to the soul of man. The philosophizing spirit, when it has indulged the exercise of its utmost freedom, and, without any restraint from fear or authority, has pursued its own course, in questioning every ground and tenet of human belief, wearies itself at last. Finding that every thing may be doubted, it soon inclines to the search after any thing that may be believed. The heart comes to the relief of the head; the spirit claims back what the mind had surrendered. The ear hears a voice behind it. Too far behind that backward voice has sounded to some, who, in seeking relief from blank scepticism, have not been satisfied with Gospel truth save with a Papal indorsement. After the utmost exercise of the freedom of doubt, men find that there is a real pleasure in the freedom of belief. It is not strange that some should feel that they cannot exercise too much of it. God be praised that we have hearts, as well as heads; affections and hopes, as well as brains. The Gospel faith is always sure of one element in the make of every human being who has heard of it. Coleridge says of himself, at one period of his life, that his head was with Spinoza, but his heart was with St. Paul and St. John. Spinoza is welcome to his share in that par-

tition; while we gladly hear again the echo of the words of the two disciples after the evening walk to Emmaus, "Did not our hearts burn within us, as he talked with us by the way and opened to us the Scriptures?"

If there is to be always such an issue between the heart and the head, we must learn to meet their conflicts with a large and generous tolerance of mind. Religion, doubtless, will always be to man the most perplexing, as well as the most momentous of themes. Its range of truths is infinite. Some of them are as plain as axioms; some of them as fathomless as the infinite abysses of space. We begin our learning with the simplest precepts of religion; we grow to the meditation of its profoundest mysteries. In this rising of its truths from the plain to the profound, there is a resemblance between religion and the use made of the letters of our alphabet, of which *a*, *b*, *c*, the first three, express the learning of the child in the nursery; while *x*, *y*, *z*, the last three, are used to denote the unknown quantities in the problems which the astronomer studies beneath the eye of all heaven. We must not forget, however, that all these letters, employed with ordinary intelligence, are promiscuously used in the common affairs of life. And so it is, that it is neither the axioms nor the perplexities of religion, but a combination of all its lessons, that makes the best furniture for heart and mind.

While Christian scholars and thinkers debate these lofty themes, they must practise mutual tolerance. The bitterness of sectarian warfare must yield to the united zeal of all Christian minds, to withstand the assaults of honest scepticism, and the contempt of the worldly and indifferent. True, there is something in religious differences which seems to goad the intensity of strong feeling more than there is even in political differences. There should, however, be something more exalting, too, in disputes which reach above the things of earth. The connection of a religious sentiment with any debated issue ought always to elevate the strife. The issue opened between Jews and Samaritans, as to the rival summits of Gerizim and Moriah, touched a matter of devotion; and so the sentiment of the dispute was wholly different from that of the Roman rivalry between the Palatine and the Aventine. Those who are engaged in

rearing the Temple of Truth should feel that they have a purpose in view unlike to that which moved the builders of the Tower of Babel, and they should not hazard by their contentions the sad result which befell that structure. A quarrelsome, contentious Christian breaks the great net of the Gospel which holds us all; and he is himself more likely to fall through the rent which he opens, than is any one else.

And as to the authority and religious use of the Bible, of the words of Prophets and Apostles, the instincts of the soul must be our best interpreters. No book or writing can be fairly interpreted but from the same point of view from which it was written. The point of view from which the Bible was written was not a scientific one, nor a philosophical one. The outlook of every sentence, line, phrase, and sentiment in that holy book, is that of the eye of the heart, turned in humility, devotion, and longing desire to God; and Jesus Christ is the medium through which all the rays of light are gathered into focal brightness, and the images of all sacred things are transferred to the heart of man. Amid all the strifes and discussions which engage our minds, devotion, spirituality of feeling, Christian piety, present their claims to a supreme regard. To keep that fervent spirit alive should be the preëminent aim of every party, and of every individual to whom religion offers a single theme of interest or of thought.

G. E. E.

Art. VI. — GRAY'S ADDRESSES.*

The volume whose title we give below, published at the request of the teachers in the Bulfinch Street Sunday School, contains a collection of addresses delivered at various times during their author's ministry, principally on Sunday School Instruction, and on Pauperism. These are subjects upon which no one is more competent to

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* *Sunday School and other Addresses.* By Frederick T. Gray, Pastor of the Bulfinch Street Church. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene; Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 16mo. pp. 224.

speak than Mr. Gray. He has had great and varied experience; he was one of the first to see the importance of Sunday schools, and for some twelve or fifteen years he was one of the Ministers at Large. As the natural consequence of knowledge thus acquired, the views which he presents are everywhere remarkable for the practical character which they assume. He is one who never speculates for speculation's sake, but only for action. In regard to the matter of which he treats, it would seem as if two questions were always in his mind. First, What can be done? and secondly, How can it be done?

Not the least valuable part of the volume is that which gives an account of the origin of the Ministry at Large and of the Sunday schools connected with our denomination in the city of Boston. In regard to both, Mr. Gray speaks from personal knowledge, and the Addresses before us contain facts of great interest, which, but for some such record, would soon be lost.

The younger portion of the community can hardly understand the change which has taken place in public opinion during the last thirty years respecting Sunday schools, and, still more, respecting the true mode of dealing with pauperism. At the beginning of this period the system of Sunday-school instruction was very generally looked upon with doubtful favor, while scarcely any method of aiding the poor was thought of, beyond the mere supplying of their bodily wants. These facts must be remembered, if we would form a just estimate of the labors which have been devoted to these subjects.

Mr. Gray's volume suggests many tempting topics for remark. But we shall confine ourselves to a brief account of the origin and growth of the Ministry at Large, as that is likely to be of particular interest to our readers. There is something to us extremely interesting in its unpretending, simple, and healthy commencement and early progress. But more than this, — its history furnishes an admirable illustration of how much can be done without any special aids or advantages, by a persevering, judicious, and disinterested devotion to a single good object, while, at the same time, it affords an example for the encouragement of those whose benevolent labors are hindered by obstacles, or are rewarded by little immediate success. In these days of impatience and change, when every

year witnesses the birth of some new enterprise heralded by loud proclamations, and introduced to the world by speeches and public meetings, and all the accessions of a noisy enthusiasm, and which, before the year's end, is left by its projectors to die by the road-side, deserted and in silence, it is both gratifying and useful to trace the progress of a good work, undertaken without public display, and carried on through years of obscurity to final triumph, by the noiseless efforts of men inspired only with the desire of doing good.

The evening of October 2d, 1822, found four young men, interested in the condition of the young, in Christian truth, and in their own religious improvement, assembled together for the purpose of forming a society to promote these several objects. The names of these young men (for though they have taken no pains to have them recorded, the time will come when society may wish to know to whom it is indebted for one of its best institutions) were Frederick T. Gray, Benjamin H. Greene, Moses Grant, and William P. Rice. Some years later, Mr. Rice removed to Cincinnati, where, after a life made beautiful by modest, unassuming Christian faith and usefulness, he died in 1837. The others still live, to devote themselves in their ripened manhood to the same beneficent labors which awoke the enthusiasm of their youth.

For two months they held meetings every week; a few other friends joined them, but the brief record of their meetings is simply, that they did not hold out much encouragement of success. At length they formed themselves into an association, styled, "The Association of Young Men for their own Mutual Improvement and for the Religious Instruction of the Poor," which on the 4th of December, 1822, included nine gentlemen. Without entering into particulars, we may add, that the members met at each other's houses weekly, for the purpose of considering topics which related to their own personal improvement, or to the wants of the community, always keeping in view the fact, that their own religious growth must lie at the foundation of any great good which could be done by them for society. By degrees their number increased; and during the six years following, as appears from the records, the great subjects to which their meet-

ings were successively devoted were, the desirableness of employing a Missionary, and building a Mission-House; the condition and wants of Vagrant Children; the diffusion of Christianity in India; the importance of publishing Tracts and other Religious Publications; the means and best method of improving our State Prisons; the utility of forming a Unitarian Association; the best means to be adopted to abolish Intemperance; the character of Theatrical Entertainments; the want of Infant Schools; and the best measures which could be taken to aid in the promotion of Peace. All of these subjects were then comparatively new; they were but just beginning to attract attention; their importance was by no means generally understood, and least of all was the place which they were soon to occupy in public estimation anticipated. And here we cannot help saying a word respecting the character of these meetings. The young men who composed them were all of them entering into the business of life, and were dependent for success on their own exertions. When one considers both the temptations and the excuses which persons thus situated have for devoting their evenings to amusements, or to pursuits having no end but their personal advantage, the example of a band of young friends, privately and without pretence, dedicating their intercourse to these great questions of social usefulness, is itself worthy of remembrance. Though selfishness would never prompt such a method of spending time, no better method could have been devised for personal advantage. The true protection for the mind and heart of youth is to have them employed on subjects of real interest and importance. But beyond this, such employment is an admirable discipline for the higher qualities of character. It accustoms the mind to broad and generous views, secures a more extended information respecting the great interests of society, and trains up the young to take an active, wise, and efficient part in all labors that look to the good of the community. The young men who were united in these meetings were not distinguished in any way from a multitude of others; but the training to which they subjected themselves could not fail to produce results. If we were to enumerate those who in later years have been at the same time most judicious and most active in promoting

the religious and benevolent interests of this city, it would surprise one to find how many of them were trained in this modest society of friends, united for religious improvement and social usefulness.

But the association did not confine itself in any limited sense to the idea of self-improvement. From the beginning its proceedings took a practical form. In regard to the second object which its members had in view, — that of the religious instruction of the poor, — they endeavored to accomplish it by evening lectures and Sunday schools. Immediately after the formation of the association, a service was commenced in the chamber of a dilapidated building in Hatters' Square. At the request of the association, the first lecture was delivered by the Rev. Henry Ware, jr., to an audience of about a dozen. The lectures were soon so well attended, and gave such evidence of being useful, that great efforts were made for some months, but without success, to obtain a minister to the poor. The lectures, however, were continued till June, 1825, and for the most part the services were conducted solely by the members of the association.

In connection with the system of lectures, in 1823 they opened the Hancock Sunday School; one of the earliest — it being preceded by five only — in our denomination. The importance of such institutions was then so little understood, the difficulty in procuring teachers was so great, and the obstacles encountered during the first five years so many, that at one time the small and unassisted band of laborers had concluded to close it. But brought to the test, they could not be induced to give up an object of so much interest and hope; and their perseverance was at length crowned with success.

In 1825, the members of the association discontinued the evening lectures, but convinced, from experience, of their value, they renewed their efforts to obtain a permanent missionary among the poor, who, besides visiting them in their homes, should hold religious services on Sunday evenings. For some time, though several persons took the subject into consideration, no one could be found to undertake this office. At length they received information that Dr. Tuckerman, then a minister in Chelsea, had expressed a willingness to engage in this new

field of service, and that he would be present at the next meeting of the association. On the evening of November 5th, 1826, he first met its members, and arrangements were at once made with him, in accordance with which he immediately entered upon the duties of the Ministry at Large; an office to which his character and enthusiasm gave such importance and prominence before the public, that he may be said almost to have created it, and with it his name will henceforth, and most justly, be inseparably connected. The Sunday-evening lectures were recommenced in a large upper chamber, which had been occupied as a painter's loft, in what was called the Circular Building, at the junction of Merrimack and Portland Streets. Here Dr. Tuckerman preached his first sermon, December 2d, 1826. On the following Sabbath, the Howard Sunday School was opened. It was on a cold December morning, the thermometer not far from zero, — the wind whistling through the loose casements, — that seven teachers and three children gathered around a small stove, to give and receive the first lessons. It was a cheerless and discouraging beginning; but warm hearts were there, not easily disheartened, and accustomed to overcome difficulties. The number of scholars rapidly increased, to such a degree that, five years after its establishment, the school contained over two hundred children, thirty-eight teachers, and two superintendents.

The audiences which attended the evening lectures were so large, that the room where they were delivered was soon found to be quite inconvenient, and an effort was made to procure a more suitable place of worship. The Ministry at Large, however, had not yet won for itself that public favor which it now possesses, and it was with great difficulty that sufficient means to accomplish this object were procured. At last, however, through the exertions of a few persons, a lot of land was purchased, and a Free Chapel — a neat, one-story building — was erected on Friend Street. It was opened for public services, and the first sermon was preached, November 1st, 1828.

Dr. Tuckerman's health, from the beginning, had been infirm. Notwithstanding he was aided in the chapel services by members of the association, his diminished strength at length compelled him to discontinue preach-

ing, and during the summer the chapel services were suspended. At the close of Dr. Tuckerman's report for the year, he expressed the strong desire that some one should take his place, to whom he might act as an assistant, and on whom might devolve the whole duties of the chapel. In accordance with this wish, Mr. Charles F. Barnard, who was then about leaving the Divinity School, entered upon the work, in the autumn of 1832. The evening lectures were resumed, and a service for the children on the Sabbath commenced by him. He continued in this position for a year, when he established a Sunday-evening service, and a Sunday school at the south part of the city. Here his success was soon of the most encouraging character. Through his zeal, his unwearied exertions, and the liberality of those friendly to this Ministry, the Warren Street Chapel was erected, and dedicated in January, 1836. Charity never took a wiser form than in this enterprise. The children who have been connected with this chapel number not less than six or seven thousand, and they have been drawn, for the most part, from a class which was not connected with any existing religious organization. The amount of good which has been done through the various ministrations of the chapel is not to be measured, and not the least in value is the example of how much one man, of warm heart and persevering devotion to one great work, may accomplish. It is now twenty years since Mr. Barnard commenced his labors. His chapel is more flourishing than it ever was before; multitudes of young men and women, employed there as teachers, have been trained to philanthropic action; while the long and great experience of Mr. Barnard, his knowledge of pauperism, and his disinterested enthusiasm, have had a powerful influence in giving a wiser and more effective form to the charitable action of the city.

Mr. Barnard was succeeded at the Friend Street Chapel by Mr. Gray, in October, 1833. Under his vigorous and judicious control, every thing went on so prosperously, that at the end of two years the chapel was not large enough to accommodate those who wished to attend the services. Mr. Gray, aided by the friends of the Ministry, took measures to supply the wants; and a lot of land was procured, and the Pitts Street Chapel erected. The last

sermon in the Friend Street Chapel was preached by the pastor, November 6th, 1836. On removing to the Pitts Street Chapel, the Association, which had thus far had the charge of sustaining the ministry, transferred their trust to the Fraternity of Churches, which since 1836 has assumed the care of the Chapel, as well as the support of the Ministers at Large.

The manifest utility of the institution has caused it to grow steadily in popular favor. Among the ministers employed in its service, for different lengths of time and in different offices, have been Dr. Tuckerman, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Gray, Mr. Bartol, Mr. Waterston, Mr. Warren Burton, Mr. William Ware, Dr. Andrew Bigelow, Mr. John T. Sargent, Mr. Cruft, and Mr. Winkley. It now has a central office, and, including the Warren Street Chapel, three chapels and four ministers, while in the various Sunday schools, evening schools, sewing schools, etc., connected with the chapels, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred teachers are constantly employed.

The Ministry at Large has thus grown into an institution of great magnitude. It has not only been the means of much immediate good to the destitute and neglected, but, what is of more importance, the experience of its ministers has given rise in no small part to the better views now entertained respecting the true methods of improving the condition of the poor. Through its reports and through its connection with churches and society at large, it has diffused these views through the community. Year after year, in its various offices, it has been training up a large number of young men and young women to be wise and efficient laborers in every field of benevolent activity; while the success of the institution in the place of its origin has caused it to be adopted elsewhere, till it has become established in nearly every populous city of New England, and in several places in Great Britain.

In the account we have given of the Ministry at Large, our readers will observe that we have spoken of it as an institution. Of course we do not mean to say that the poor congregated in our cities were before this uncared for. On the contrary, we doubt if there be any city in Christendom where, in modern times, an abundance has not been given, to supply all bodily wants, if it had been given wisely. Nor have the spiritual wants been neg-

lected, although these have been comparatively but little regarded. In Boston, before the time of which we have spoken, Dr. Jenks was for a season employed as a city missionary by our Orthodox friends, and it is possible that others may have been engaged in the same work with him. But these cases were exceptional, originating in the benevolent impulses of individuals, and dying with them. So far as we know, the Ministry at Large was the first systematic effort to embody in a *permanent institution* the best ideas of the time respecting the true methods of Christian benevolence. It was the commencement of a new era in the annals of pauperism. It combined the methods of action which had been kept separate, and by being separated had been comparatively powerless for good. It proposed to furnish relief to the destitute, but never to do this without first investigating the condition of those who were aided. But the mere relief of physical want was not regarded as the principal thing. The two fundamental principles which controlled the organization were, first, to prevent the existence of pauperism, rather than merely to supply the wants of the poor; and, secondly, to bring the poor into connection with influences which should prevent their sinking into the gulf of pauperism, or which should raise those who were already paupers to a condition in which they should be self-supporting men and women. So long as the pauper character remains, it is impossible to furnish any permanent relief. The first purpose of the Ministry at Large was, therefore, to elevate the character of the pauper class; to reclaim the thriftless, the idle, the profligate, from the habits which were debasing them; to encourage the virtuous and industrious poor by sympathy, by needed aid, and by bringing them into connection with the more prosperous; to watch over exposed, forsaken, or neglected children; and, above all, and as the foundation of all, to bring them under religious influences such as should fortify their good purposes, give them encouragement in their trials, and, by the regeneration and elevation of the character, promote their true welfare here and hereafter. To this end a regular ministry was established, which should devote itself to investigating and meeting the wants of the poor; to this end chapels were reared and Sunday schools organized, while the minister was

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expected to make himself familiar with those under his charge, in their homes. For the same general end, sewing schools for girls and evening schools for adults were established, and a general office, to which applicants throughout the city might be referred for aid, and from whose records important information might be derived by those who wished to aid the poor, was opened; and all of these were united in a permanent institution, whose existence should not depend on the transient impulses of individuals, but, connected with our churches, and supported by them, should have the same stability with them in the mode of support.

The importance of this institution, and its application to the wants of our time, is already generally recognized. But as yet the results which may be expected from it are only beginning to appear. The question of pauperism is the great social question of our day. It is no longer confined to the Old World. Owing to the great influx of foreigners, the number of persons in Boston alone, who annually receive more or less aid from the city, falls little short of ten thousand. The pauper class is steadily and rapidly increasing, and no institutions can be so important as those which, by the diffusion of intelligence and the inculcation of Christian principles, shall prevent the growth of the pauper character and the immeasurable evils of every description which exist wherever that character is found.

There are other subjects of which Mr. Gray treats in these Addresses, to which we should be glad to call attention; but we must refer our readers to the volume itself. We make one or two extracts, that may serve to show the style and spirit in which Mr. Gray discusses the great practical subjects to which he has given so much thought and time. The following extract contains an answer to the objection that Sunday schools interfere with domestic instruction: —

"Occupation, we cannot too often repeat it, is the secret of happiness, and these little men and women, like ourselves, need occupation. The Sunday school furnishes it. Their minds are interested; they have lessons to learn, questions to ask; and their parents feel the necessity of thinking and reading in order to satisfy their curiosity. Thus the whole family sympathize with the youthful members, who often find their turn to teach their

parents, by communicating some of the knowledge received at the Sunday school.

"Allowing, however, that the parent gives suitable instruction at home, without such aid has he not to encounter many difficulties? Does he not find it hard to fix the attention in the domestic circle? It is a very different thing to give instruction to children at home, and in a large circle of those of their own age. The stimulus in the latter case is incalculably greater. Let the children be sent to the school. Let the course of instruction pursued by the teacher be understood and followed out by the parent, so that when the time for instructing his children arrives, the exercise shall be a review of the lesson taught at the school. Let the children be questioned for an account, and receive, if necessary, some additional lessons particularly adapted to their character and wants, and the effect of such combined instruction would be far greater than could be expected from either alone. The preparation for private instruction is thus made at school, where the disposition to learn is cherished by many influences to be met with nowhere else.

"Association with their youthful acquaintance in their tasks will of itself be a means of exciting the liveliest interest, and securing a more willing and patient attention. Many obstacles to the success of domestic tuition are almost wholly done away at school; and the lessons at home give new efficacy to those which are learned abroad. How frequently have we witnessed the restlessness of children on their return from the school, till they had related all that was done there, and mentioned how happy they had been with their teacher.

"Will not this interest of the children call forth a corresponding interest in the parents? And shall we make no account of the effect of witnessing the solicitude of others for the welfare of their children? Can it be that they who hear so much concerning religious instruction should embrace no opportunity to impart it? Will those little faults which are the beginning of evil, and which can be known only to a parent, receive no correction? The parent, when he rebukes his child, will perceive with gratitude that the lesson makes a deeper impression from the previous influence of the Sunday School; and this will, while it produces the desired amendment, be no small testimony to the assistance rendered by these schools to the parent." — pp. 15 – 17.

His suggestions to teachers are as worthy of attention now, as when they were first uttered: —

"Such are the encouragements we derive from a review of the effects of Sunday schools. If they are thus extensive, by whom are they achieved? It is by the persevering, faithful teacher,

who has taken upon himself the interesting and important duty of imparting religious instruction to the young; who has commenced this work with religious feeling, with a due sense of its importance; and who, in presenting religion and religious subjects to his pupils, teaches them to make it the governing principle of their lives.

"On this point let not enthusiasm mingle. The work needs it not; but calls only for calm, deliberate consideration. We would receive the labors of any one in this work with whom religion has its due influence. We would invite those who are as yet unacquainted with them to come and assist us. But those who are acquainted need no solicitation; it is the free-will offering, the voluntary suggestion of a benevolent mind, as they well know.

"Let none engage in this holy work with the cold and doubtful feelings of a task, but from a full conviction of its vast importance. He who acts understandingly, and from a deep impression of its value and usefulness, will seldom fail of accomplishing the desired object. Let there be no flagging steps, no dulness, seen in these schools, for the influence of this is fatal. Come, if at all, punctually and cheerfully, for the example of the inert, lifeless, tardy teacher paralyzes all effort. If only half the teachers in a school are interested, let these remain, and the rest leave; for the activity and perseverance of a few will accomplish far more than the dull movements of many.

"I have heard some teachers apologizing for their tardiness, their absence, and their negligence. This is useless. Let us never forget that it is to ourselves and those committed to our care that we are to offer all such apologies, and that it is our own consciences we are to satisfy. The teacher should inquire whether he has the time and the opportunity; whether his sphere of usefulness would be as extensive in this as it might be in some other society; whether there is any way in which he can do more good. He is also to consider his domestic relations, his own improvement, and that of those with whom he is immediately connected. He is to look within, and reflect upon the subject; he is to listen to the persuasion of friends, but he must not continue simply by their request or because the institution is popular. No; he must consider his duty to the rising generation, and feel that God calls upon him to do what he can to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of those around him." — pp. 23 – 25.

On the adaptation of the instructions to the minds of children, he remarks: —

"These are matters of vital importance to our institution, yet the rest we would not leave undone. Whatever promotes order and regularity, whatever is conducive to the general comfort of

our pupils, is certainly deserving attention. But the teacher must realize that his office is beyond mere externals. He is the instructor of these little beings in their religion; it is his privilege to raise their innocent hearts to heaven in love to their Creator, — his privilege to explain the sacred word of God, to point out the wonders of creation, and fit them to become religious and useful members of society.

"And how is he to do this? By merely repeating in formal language what has been written on these subjects? Can he expect thus to interest his little audience? O, no! we must not forget that children are only men in miniature. They have the same feelings as ourselves, and are as easily wearied by what is beyond their comprehension. We must be interested ourselves, if we would interest others. We must kindle in our own hearts the desire of goodness and knowledge, if we would inspire others with it. Then we shall not want language, and such as suits our subject; the most simple is always the best.

"The mind of the child is often diverted from the subject by a word, of the meaning of which it is ignorant. It is requisite, therefore, to descend to the level of the intellects of children, make ourselves for the time their familiar companions, and become at once their instructors and friends. This alone would be a sufficient motive, but we have another; it is thus only that children can be made to take an interest in Sunday Schools. We must begin with them from what they already know, and lead them, step by step, to what they do not know. We cannot force them from this path; we may fill their memories with words; but if we would interest their hearts and enlarge their minds, we must make them understand what we teach.

"Experience has long since taught us the truth of this. How often have we seen indifference in our pupils, when we ourselves were not interested in the subject. And how often have we seen intelligence and delight beam forth in their countenances when we ourselves were in earnest, and felt the importance and truth of what we were imparting to them. It is thus that reward has followed our exertions. Do we not find in every thing, that what is worth labor requires it? and is the work we are engaged in so easy, that without some preparation we can faithfully perform our duty? Do we find it so in other things? O, no! we are constantly lamenting that we have not time; that we feel incompetent to undertake many things for the want of knowledge respecting them. Is this duty less important than many we have taken upon ourselves?" — pp. 64 – 66.

E. P.

Art. VII. — BARTOL'S DISCOURSES ON THE CHRISTIAN BODY AND FORM.*

The author of the volume named below has in part anticipated both the necessity and the value of our labors as reviewers, by the excellence and the candor of his self-criticism in the introductory and concluding essays of his work. It is not necessary to inform any one who has read these portions of this volume, at what the writer has aimed, — what state of mind in the public he has sought to correct, — nor through what extremes of opinion he has endeavored to find a middle and a higher way. Here are twenty-six sermons, evidently selected from the author's stock of parish discourses, as written in a connected series, and all the more bearing the marks, in their spiritual continuity and tendency to one point, of a profound conviction, requiring expression and produced by some actual pressure in the moral atmosphere of the time. We value more, in religious writings, that sort of connection and method which an aim at practical usefulness or the actual supply of spiritual wants has created, than the more formal and artistic order begotten of a systematic effort at unity. Indeed, the sermons of our abler and more earnest brethren of every creed, could they be thus laid out before us, would furnish, we doubt not, in every case, a far better and sounder body of divinity than any of them could compile, — because inspired and corrected by a practical, in place of a speculative aim, and touching at every point the shores of reality. Sermons we more and more value, as the concrete expressions of Christian faith. We ask for more of them, and from more various quarters. Our own body has been specially rich and liberal in volumes of sermons during the last few years, and we have no occasion for any thing but pride and joy in contemplating the broad and ample shelf they occupy in our library. Instead of repressing the forwardness of our brethren, we would rather complain of the reserve and stinginess which shuts up many of the richest and most gifted sermonizers in our ranks, and confines their in-

* *Discourses on the Christian Body and Form.* By C. A. Bartol, Junior Minister of the West Church in Boston. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 376.

fluence to the narrow circle of their Sunday sermons. For what have paper and print become so cheap, but that every minister in the religious or any other useful field may, without peril or presumption, find his own audience through the press? A man is not to be supposed to be taking aim at posterity, who lets forth his volume in our day; and we are ill-natured enough to ascribe to pride quite as much as to modesty, to indolence and indifference quite as much as to humility, the continency of some of our most gifted preachers.

At any rate, no one can challenge the right of the present volume to its admirable typographic costume. It is, let us say fairly at the outset, a charming and edifying book. Did not a more laborious purpose demand our time and room, we should enjoy nothing more than a deliberate walk with our readers through its flowery and fruitful paths, pulling clusters of grapes and bread-fruits with one hand, and heliotropes and lilies with the other; and this would be our only office, for we confess ourselves ineligible to the bench, when, as it were, our own flesh and blood is at the bar. Did we say all we think of the copiousness of thought, the richness of illustration, the felicities of phrase, the depths of experience, the purity of heart, evinced in this volume, we should doubtless seem to be giving only another proof how heavy a retainer love takes, when friendship is his client, and on what oily terms are the advocate and the judge, when they share the profits of the verdict.

It is only the general topic called up by this work that we can here undertake to treat of, considered as a product of our religious times. It seems to us characteristically a return to faith. The positive, authoritative Gospel, set forth in this volume with such unction and skill, we hold to be a marked development of the religious temper of the times, — one of the good and blessed signs in our sky, — and all the more significant and important, hanging in the quarter it does. If our readers will trustingly accompany us through a few pages of general description of the nature, origin, and career of that spirit of doubt and alienation which has produced such a temporary decay of interest in the doctrines and forms of the Gospel, — but which, as we hope to show, is issuing in a nobler and better faith, and a revived inter-

est in every part of Christianity, both spirit and body, — we will promise to return, before dismissing them, to some further notice of the Discourses which have occasioned our article.

Nothing is more distinctive of the critical thought of our immediate times, than its recovering hold on Christianity, as a spirit and as an institution. Until within the present age, the criticism of the Church and of Christianity itself had been almost entirely conducted by outsiders, — avowed enemies and open destructives. The social and personal peril hanging over free-thinkers exasperated their doubts into fierce denials, and their suspicion into hatred. Scepticism was compelled to call to its aid the most belligerent passions and to take up the most ultra positions, in order to make its feebleness feared, or to gain any attention but that of persecution and loathing. The outcast avenged himself on the Christian Church which excommunicated, and the Christian society which disfranchised him, by round abuse of the Gospel on which they rested, as a superstition, a falsehood, a fraud, and a nuisance. If the amenities of elegant literature, or the dignity of the historic Muse, forbade in them the ribaldry and passion which marked the vulgar infidelity of their time, yet the great deists of the last century show in the poisonous sarcasms and malignant sneers and laborious underminings which they practise towards Christianity, that they are only tender to themselves, not to her, in any decorum or equivocation that belongs to their modes of attack. All they dared, they did, to destroy the foundations of faith in revealed religion, and in the institutions that represented it. They almost universally manifest neither doubt nor misgiving in their infidelity. That Christianity is a fable and a hindrance, is their settled conviction. If they do not say so, it is only that they may more successfully insinuate their scepticism, and the sooner accomplish for the Gospel the fate that belongs to frauds and follies. Could we summon Bolingbroke, Hume, Gibbon, Boyle, Voltaire, Paine, to the witness-stand of our own jurisdiction, they would be forced to confess that they had anticipated as the result of their own Antichristian speculations, or as the ultimate destination of the tendencies of thought of which they were so vigorous a manifestation, an entirely

different attitude towards Christianity in the learning, criticism, and original thought of this generation. They unquestionably thought themselves in the main current of the world's civilization, if not in the widened and improved channel of its progress. In their judgment, the abandonment of the Gospel was only a matter of time. After them, no history could again be written from a Christian point of view! They foresaw no Arnold, no Bunsen, no Niebuhr, no Guizot! No philosophy could again dare to treat revealed religion with deference; no science venture to lay its discoveries upon the Christian altar; no literature compromise its prospects, by association with decaying superstitions; and no statesmanship invite failure by overlooking the new religious conditions under which the advancement of society was to proceed.

How different the influence of the French Encyclopedists and the English Deists from what they hoped, or Christians feared! Attack is always strong, and defence always weak; and certainly the onset of the mighty sceptics of the eighteenth century was terribly effective, and the resistance of the sentinels and police of the Gospel miserably feeble. The best mind, the sharpest wit, the profoundest learning, the truest courage, the most practised eloquence, of that era, were in the ranks of infidelity. Despite their unpropitiousness towards the Gospel, we might as well blot the last century out of memory, as extinguish the lights which scepticism hung in its horizon. They were the principal luminaries, and that era would present a blank chasm in the sky of history, were those stars quenched to whose splendors the baleful rays of doubt contributed a lurid aspect. Their foes owe their reputation mainly to the names of the giants they attacked, or the goodness of the cause they defended, while they were largely indebted for their immediate safety to the contempt of their adversaries. Most of the "Apologies" for Christianity drawn forth by the alarm of that period are apologies indeed, and had the Gospel owed its prospects of life to the nursing of its friends, or the mercy of its enemies, it would have gone the way of all flesh, in spite of Watson and Horsley, of Leslie's Short Method, and Lardner's Credibility, and Paley's Evidences.

It would be interesting here, did our limits permit, to

show who were the real champions of faith at this era, and how little they owed their usefulness to historical criticism or direct opposition. First came the reverential students of natural science, such as Newton, Euler, Haller, and Swedenborg. Next, the mental philosophers, like Butler, and Reid, and Kant, who in their various modes undertook to find a foundation for religion and duty in the intellectual and moral nature of man. Finally, and most potent of all, the pietists of various schools, headed by Spener, who lived just to begin the century, and who was followed by Zinzendorf, Wesley, Benzel, Stilling, &c., who kindled the new spiritualism, so characteristic of the philosophy of the nineteenth century, — the heart's protest against mere intellectualism, which attained its utmost volume in Jacobi, and Schleiermacher who had been brought up by the Moravians. Even Rousseau, so tainted by sentimentalism and its kindred vices, became an apostle of the heart, and turned in horror from the Voltaire school of doubt, to construct a Christianity of his own out of the Gospel, and even in his failure succeeded in kindling a spirit capable of putting down Voltairism at last.

The infidelity of the last century was a necessity of the human mind, and its worst features were among its most useful traits. Up to that time, the Christian faith of the world had been compulsory. Religion was deemed out of the domain of legitimate thought, and a thousand political, social, and scientific errors had taken shelter within its sacred inclosure, as murderers found refuge in the ancient temples of the gods. The aroused intellect of the world, having exhausted its capabilities in the directions least conflicting with the Church, having won its greatest triumphs in poetry and architecture, painting and sculpture, in metaphysics and in classical lore, — and all the more successfully because the current of genius was dammed up to a narrow channel, — now began to chafe against forbidden themes, and to break with impatience upon the shores that resisted its rising tide, forced by the winds of Providence up new inlets. The faith of the world had, from very custom, become a superstition. Christianity had intrenched itself in the indolence and the senses of mankind. The bad doubted it no more than the good, and the good believed it no more than the bad.

There was no living connection between the spiritual senses and the objects of their report. The witnesses were false witnesses, even when they testified to the truth; and their evidence was bribed by custom and fear and sloth, though it sustained the right and the holy. The Gospel, from a living spirit hovering over human hearts, as the Pentecostal flames burnt on the Apostles' foreheads, had become a huge brand on the hearth of modern civilization, a light, indeed, at one extremity, and giving warmth to the house, but thrusting its shapeless end into the midst of the floor, embarrassing every movement in the household. Science stumbled at every vigorous step she made, politics tore her generous robe, ethics was cramped, history confused, economy baffled, and thought itself blackened and bruised. Yet here had this sacred fuel been smouldering for ages, chief source of the light and warmth of the family! What inconveniences, what sacrifices, would not be borne, before one splinter of its bulk were pared away! Nay, would not the disadvantages it made necessary, the evils it perpetuated, come, through association, to be as sacred as the benefits it conferred, and indistinguishable from them? So, indeed, it was; and Christianity, the mother of infinite blessings, was, in its identification with the visible Church and the iron creed, becoming a mighty oppressor of the human intellect, when the great rebellion of the last century broke out.

None but giants could have forced the gates of a prison made out of a temple; its walls built by God, to form the everlasting shelter of the race, but whose doors — once moving on golden hinges, and affording free access and departure — had long since been closed from within, and barricaded by the broken furniture of ages, or buried beyond discovery in heaps of priestly rubbish or ecclesiastical ashes. No hand too much afraid of defacing the sacred wall could have even found the door, much less have dared to break it down. No spirit as anxious to preserve what was true, as to destroy what was false, — to save the innocent and costly roof that had nevertheless been its jail, as to escape from confinement, — could ever have achieved this emancipation. It was necessary that infidelity should be in earnest, hearty and uncompromising, to break the oppressive stupor of faith;

that the pretensions of Christianity itself should be challenged, so inseparably had a usurping Church identified itself with the Gospel; and that the human intellect, treated like a serpent by the great representative of religion, should at length use a serpent's wiles, and turn and sting the oppressor's foot, that it might show its power, if it could not vindicate its benignity, and achieve that freedom through fear which it could not win by long service.

So long as Christianity, as administered by its representatives, challenged belief under penalties, and commanded assent without any alternative but ruin, it was impossible that the intellect of the world could come to any honest terms with it. The truer it was, the better it could afford to submit its claims to examination, and the more inexcusable its dogmatism and arbitrariness. But so rooted had become the habit of confounding religious faith with a prostration of the understanding before verbal propositions of the Church, that there was no hope of any emancipation of the intellect, except through a desperation to which faith itself had become indifferent.

We are now reaping the fruits of this revolt. The belligerent infidelity of the last century, in which philosophers, historians, and poets were united, achieved its end. The human intellect vindicated its right, unchallenged by faith, to explore every corner of the universe, and every avenue of thought, and to apply its severest logic, its sharpest criticism, to religion, and every thing over which religion had extended its smothering protection. Politics, science, economy, — parts of which had always been so involved with ecclesiastical claims, as to share their immunity from examination, — were now subjected to the right of search, which reason had wrested from superstition. There is now no subject of interest to men, the perfectly philosophical or scientific discussion of which is not possible, somewhere within the domain of thought. The moral *Index Expurgatorius* is in force, to a certain extent, in the most highly civilized communities; but the cost of disregarding it is reduced so low, that it imposes no restraint upon any intellect rich enough to be entitled to independent explorations. The Church has essentially abandoned its hostility to free inquiry; for it has discovered that its hold upon the world is not by the precarious tenure of the understand-

ing; that reason has no proper quarrel with faith, the Gospel nothing to fear from science or philosophy.

And this is the greatest triumph which Christianity has had since it ascended the throne of the Cæsars, — its victory over the unchained intellect of the nineteenth century. He that closed the mouths of lions upon his prophets could alone have anticipated so quick and thorough an escape of the Gospel from the angry jaws of a scepticism whose hunger eighteen centuries of fasting had sharpened.

So deeply planted has the Gospel proved itself to be in the affections, the necessities, and the moral experience of the world, that its sturdy trunk has not only withstood the whirlwind of infidelity let loose upon it, but its branches have afforded protection to the least vital and most dependent parasites clinging to their tops. What testimonial to its essential truth and necessity did Christianity ever receive, more honorable or more satisfactory than the revival of the Catholic Church in the middle of an age like this, and in the very countries most enlightened by education, most blessed with freedom, most accustomed to free inquiry? If it be supposed that Catholicism owes its resurrection to what is peculiar in its system, and not to the inherent power of that common truth it represents, it only the more proclaims the immense strength of the Christian faith, which is seemingly immortal even in its most vulnerable parts. The intellect of the world, in its freest play, cannot make faith let go its hold upon any thing it even mistakes for the robe of Christ.

Religious belief has proved itself so much more natural, necessary, delightful to man, than any intellectual consistency or propositional harmony, that those whom their studies carry nearest the verge of infidelity are very often found shortly afterwards snugly ensconced in the bosom of the most exacting Church on earth. Meanwhile science, philosophy, history, and literature have taken on an entirely new temper in regard to Christianity. Whereas, for the larger part of the eighteenth century, all the higher branches of human inquiry were either openly or secretly hostile, or, what was far worse, indifferent, to revealed religion, and every respectful reference to the subject was formal and unmeaning,

as if only the decent deference due to a decaying superstition; now, on the contrary, an open, genuine, and deep reverence for the Gospel characterizes the profoundest, the freest, and the most successful inquiries in science, in history, and in philosophy, — a reverence which does not embarrass, but actually assists, discovery.

A Christian theology seems to have resumed its seat among the sciences, and to participate, without assumption and without deprecation, in their councils. Above all, literature, which is the meeting-point of the highest thought and the broadest life of the age, — where meditation and experience unite, and the brain of the time finds its heart and lungs and muscles, — literature is in our day penetrated with Christian ethics and evangelical sentiments, and criticizes the Church, not for its credulity and assumption, but for its want of faith and activity. The most popular works of the day are works in which piety, not piracy, makes the interest of their heroes, and Uncle Tom and Peggotty take the place of Conrad and Paul Clifford. The spontaneous tendency to faith and veneration evinced in the lighter reading of the day, is one of the most encouraging proofs of the revival of a genuine interest in Christianity as a living religion. Amid the censures with which the blue-and-yellow-clad literature of our time is liberally covered, and in the pious haste to think every thing evil which is cheap and popular, especially if it come from France, a gross injustice is done both to the authors and the readers of a very large portion of it. It is only recently that we have ourselves had any opportunity of examining what we confess we had passed by with a somewhat complacent contempt or pious horror; but we acknowledge, with contrition and joy, that far the larger portion of the popular novels produced in our time are eminently moral in their intention, reverential in their spirit, and wise and Christian in their philosophy. Mrs. Gore's novels, for instance; Mrs. Norton's recent admirable works; Mrs. Marsh's books, — what can be more thoroughly pure or more genially pious than these popular writings? But above all, what account but one in the highest degree favorable to the rising spirit of faith and reverence can be given of the gracious revolution in the character and spirit of Bulwer? Paul the Persecutor and Paul the

Martyr are not more nor better contrasted than the writer of "Pelham" and "Eugene Aram" and the author of "The Caxtons" and "My Novel."

If we turn from the indirect evidence afforded by the higher and the popular literature of the times, of the inclination of the world's heart towards religion, and the Christian religion, to the direct testimony offered by the nature and character of the expressly religious and anti-religious action and writings of the day, we are only sustained and encouraged in our belief, that a determined hold on the Gospel and its institutions is the nearly unanimous resolve of the age. It is hard to say whether the satisfied or the dissatisfied friends of Christianity and the Church are now the more numerous or the more serviceable. We look in vain for any class of respectable foes to the Gospel. Critics enough, but not too many, there are, of the dogmas and forms and ecclesiastical embodiments of Christianity. But against whom can intelligent and pious minds, not the heirs of the prejudices under which their religious education commenced, direct, with any judicial sobriety, the opprobrious charge of infidelity? It is not because there is no such thing as infidelity, but because there are no such people as infidels in any influential position, that this language is losing its place in the vocabulary of the best Christian criticism. For our own part, either from want of subtilty or from a more believing constitution, we are not troubled with the difficulties respecting miracles which perplex the transcendental school of critics; nor does the view of Christianity which the naturalists present at all meet our wants or convictions. We are all the more free, therefore, to declare our total dissent from the spirit and policy which denounces as unbelievers those who reject the popular and our own grounds of belief. What grosser injustice to the spirit of the Gospel or the mind of Christ, than to nickname as infidel the writings of such men as Newman and Gregg, or Parker and Henry James? Does any body, who has taken the pains to inquire, doubt whether these men venerate and love the person of Christ, and are seeking to introduce his kingdom into the world? whether they regard him as the founder of the saving faith of men since his day? whether their doubts or differences touch the heart of his religion?

The question is not how successfully they maintain the Christian spirit in an attitude of great trial and temptation; nor whether they are either logically or practically consistent, — sound in their reasonings or sound in their lives, — but whether they are truly, heartily believers in the religion of Jesus Christ. And for ourselves, we doubt it no more than we doubt the Pope's or the Archbishop of Canterbury's faith in Christianity, and should as soon presume to call them infidels as these men. An infidel is a disbeliever in the Gospel of Christ. No man, to whom that Gospel is the first object of his thoughts, labors, and reasonings, — who refers all his other judgments to it as the central truth, — is a disbeliever, let his account of Christianity be what it will. He may have his own speculative notions respecting the *evidence* of Christ's authority, or the nature of his authority, as moral or personal, — respecting miracles or inspiration; but if he accepts on any grounds Christianity as his *religion*, — if it be to him the highest and most affecting and influential manifestation or revelation of God, — if he consider his own view of its authority the most potent and most sacred idea of authority of which his nature admits, — then he is a believer in Christianity to all intents and purposes, and, in our judgment, it is mere dogmatism and fanaticism to call him an enemy or an infidel. We must either cease this foolish cry of infidelity towards every thing that differs from our own view of religion, or else soon find that "unbeliever" carries no reproach with it, and "believer" no dignity.

It is a happy thing for the world, that the criticism of the Church, and of that development of the faith of Jesus which is called Christianity, now proceeds most actively and ably from within, and from friendly hands. The jealousy of ecclesiastics and creed-mongers, who usually arrogate to themselves the whole patronage of our religion, is directed now, not towards avowed infidels and worldly enemies of the Gospel, but against those who claim to be true and devoted friends of Christianity, and who in her name are active laborers in every field of moral, philanthropic, or spiritual benevolence. The most dangerous enemies of the Gospel in our day, if we can believe some of our Christian brethren, are men laboring with heart and soul to bring society up to the New Tes-

tament standard, — men of prayer and of charity, — men distinguished for purity, simplicity, earnestness, courage, faith, but not ready or able to subscribe any human creed, nor bound by any system of received opinions, nor pledged to any philosophical or historical theory respecting the Scriptures, — men, in short, who differ radically from the majority of disciples, in the freedom of their speculations, and in their indifference to the results of free inquiry respecting the origin of our religion, but who nevertheless receive Christianity as a fact, as *the* fact, and make it the business and joy of their lives to receive and propagate its influence and its truth.

Now we hold it to be the noblest triumph of the Gospel, that it is thus placing itself among the indisputable verities, the everlasting facts, of human experience, — as true as summer and winter, as the multiplication-table, as the tides. And is not this its real position, when the only important unbelievers are of the character here described?

And this we take to be the practical solution of the perplexing question of Christian evidences. Christianity is true, because the human race cannot disbelieve it, cannot do without it; not because it can be incontrovertibly established as history. We fully believe it to be history; but we are almost ready to say, that, if it could be proved according to the ordinary means and methods of historical inquiry, it would not be the religion we require. If a child could remember the birth of his own parent, he would have no father, but only a progenitor. If Christianity had sprung into being within the period of the modern world's intellectual consciousness, it might be a philosophy, but it could be no religion. Its sources must lie back of the farthest explorations of our curiosity, to bring us down the living water of faith and reverence. Miracle alone could have overcome for the first disciples the disadvantages of novelty and direct vision; and the credulity and superstition of the earlier ages of our faith mingled profitably with the recency of Christianity, to supply what age alone could give the instructed intellect of the world, — veneration and dependence. The absolute authority of the Church, forbidding investigation, and shrouding the Gospel with splendid drapery, that attracted respect while it prevented inspection, was a prov-

idential rooting of the Gospel in the dark mould of ages preparatory to the rising winds of intellect which were to shake its sacred boughs. The ages of faith — ages of ignorance though they were — alone could prepare a religion for the ages of curiosity and speculation and common sense. This, humanly speaking, makes Christianity the religion of the world, — that, containing a system of pure ethics, and implying a theology consonant with reason, meeting the wants and affections of the human heart, it has a history older than our civilization, and a beginning which cannot be fully explored. It is alike undeniable and undemonstrable in its historic character. It cannot be vulgarized by ordinary proof, nor discredited by historic witnesses. He must be a bold and reckless man who pronounces its literal history fabulous, or its records untrue. He must be more learned than Lardner, more fortunate than Paley, more penetrating than Gibbon, who bridges that dark and disastrous gulf over which the venerable Polycarp, in his shattered boat, has stood sole ferryman since historical criticism commenced its baffled journey to the Apostles' feet.

Let us not be understood as depreciating either the importance or the interest of the external evidences of Christianity. Believing in the Gospel and in the records, we hold it to be the most natural of processes to investigate the early history and substantiate the historical truth of Christianity. More and more, probably, will this elevated curiosity be piqued and employed, as the principles of historical investigation are better understood. But we neither regret the obscurity of the search, nor acknowledge its success, while we hold fast to our historic faith. In respect of evidence, Christianity, meanwhile, stands just where we would have it stand, — its feet on the shadowy past, its hands on our responsive bosoms. Our religion is a fact; and the Niger might as well be disputed as a river, because of its unknown source, as Christianity of being an historical reality, because of its obscure origin. We doubt not the Niger has an honest source, and one adequate to its current. How can we doubt that a divine religion — divine by every testimony of human experience, divine in its moral purity, divine in its portraiture, divine in its fitness to human wants, divine in its literary aspect and in all its trace-

able history — had also a divine source? The world cannot doubt it, because under every provocation it does not doubt it. The Gospel has identified itself too much with the fortunes of the human heart, — civilized man is too much mixed up with it, and it with him, — it has worn for itself too deep a channel in the common soul, — to permit its future fortunes to be any thing but the fortunes of humanity. We have taken it for better and worse. The world has made itself the Church, that it might be the bride of Christ; and what God has joined, let no man — and no man nor body of men can — put asunder. The intellect of the age, vindicating its right to inquire into and to legitimate the faith of the age, started up, and is still on foot, asking the right of Christianity to its place in the world. But it does not determine, it only measures, that place; and if it cannot measure it, it does not change the fact of its existence. But it is even terrified at its own inability to settle the claims of Christianity with affirmative force; feeling much as a child who loves its father may be supposed to feel on some suspicion arising respecting its parentage. There is nothing sadder in all literature than Blanco White's pursuit of the Christian faith under the guidance of the intellect. No bereaved child ever sobbed for its mother's bosom more bitterly than he for a faith that his intellect could wholly substantiate. And does not its own sorrow clearly begin to teach the human understanding, that the soul's instincts, affections, and wants are wiser than the logical faculty, and that when we cease to believe every thing we cannot prove, we shall drop nine tenths of all our most valuable confidence and practical knowledge? What seems, therefore, just now to engage the philosophical intellect of the time in regard to Christianity, is not the hopeless task of proving it by any evidence the force of which is not now universally felt, but the endeavor to explain and justify the reception of the Gospel on the moral evidence upon which it *is* received. This, it will be perceived, is not a practical, but a purely speculative inquiry, — having nothing to do with the actual influence of the Gospel, or the real faith of the world. That seems to have been settled by the laws of the human soul, and the original adaptedness of Christianity to man's nature and state.

If, now, we inquire for a moment what change has come over the prevailing ideas of Christianity under the keen examination of the intellect of the age, we think it must be generally acknowledged that that poverty-stricken conception of it as a scheme of doctrine, or collection of facts, carefully fenced in from all other experiences and all other influences; communicated and perfected in the Apostolic times; and then, by an ecclesiastical channel, poured down in its original import, with no more and no less a burden than it carried at its birth, with no contribution, or development, or interpretation from the history and the experience of humanity; — that such a conception of Christianity, though still formally upheld, is essentially without foundation in the inner consciousness or practical convictions of the instructed mind of this age. The development theory of the learned, stripped of all its mysticism, is the judgment of the common sense of our day, when not afraid to know its own mind. The wonderful fact about Christianity, meanwhile, is, that although in every new age it displays larger proportions, a greater elasticity, a freer accommodation of itself to the progress of the race, it never loses its place at the head of the purest civilization and the highest intelligence. If it relax its ecclesiastical hold, it tightens its dogmatic grasp, and if it loosens its doctrinal tenure, it shortens its moral rein. The arbitrary authority of the Church, the Scriptures, the theology of Christendom, is undeniably so much impaired as to threaten or promise utter extinction. But neither the Church, the Bible, nor even the ancient dogmas of Christendom, are less dear or less influential because the ground of their reception is changed. Many a child never loves his teacher till he has escaped from his ferule; many a son never honors his parents till he can do something for their support. The Church, the Scriptures, the old dogmas, having ceased to command the human intellect on peril of temporal or eternal ruin to do them a blind homage, now begin to receive a loving, voluntary service, most manifest in those who have most thoroughly escaped from their compulsory rule.

We have made a long preface to our notice of the volume of sermons now open before us, and yet one which grew fairly out of their perusal. For here, out of

the bosom of the most liberalized Christian community, and from a mind peculiarly emancipated from authority, tradition, creeds, and rituals, comes a vigorous plea for Christianity as a definite and dogmatic system, — for the Church as a formal and authoritative institution. We should value this plea very little if it rested upon the old ground, — if it were an appeal to the ignorance, the blindness, the fears, the superstition of the public, — or reposed upon historical argument and logical foundations. But we attach the highest importance to it precisely because it makes its appeal to the moral experience, the evangelical affections, and the spiritual wants of this age. So far as we know, it is the first, and certainly it is the best, practical attempt, since the rise of a true criticism of Christianity, to give body and form to the Gospel, — a precise mould and tangible substance, without putting feet of clay on the image, in the shape of human dogmas and a coarse external authority. It is the resurrection body which can pass freely through any door where the disciples wait for their Lord, that our author ascribes to his religion; not that body of flesh and blood which cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. Holding to the great universal doctrines of Christendom in their generous proportions, without a presumptuous nicety of definition, or a licentious and chilling obscurity of outline, — equally free from sectarianism and indifference, — he presents the articles of the Christian faith to the souls of his readers; not to their understandings, not to their hearts, but to their souls; and by every appeal to experience, to want, to affection, to common sense, commends them to cordial acceptance. In like manner, the simple rites of Christianity received in all ages and communions, with insignificant exceptions, but which the mingled spiritualism and utilitarianism of the author's neighborhood had threatened with neglect, or deprived of due significance, he rescues from contempt or disuse; not by bold exaggeration of their importance, or priestly assumption of their authority, but by making their authority felt in the intense significance they possess for the thoroughly Christianized mind and heart.

It is evident that the writer of this work has lived into the heart of Christianity, as a spirit and as an institution. His former volume of Sermons, on "The Chris-

tian Spirit and Life," displayed his practical acquaintance with the results of the Christian faith; the present volume — at this day a far more important contribution to our religious literature — displays his acquaintance with the ways and means of Christianity. While, on the one hand, we cannot rejoice too heartily that the substance of the Gospel is at length securing the studious attention of those who for so long a time have been engrossed with the distillation of its essence; on the other, we congratulate ourselves still more, that the medicinal properties of the tree of life are not to be overlooked in admiration of its floral beauty. The Gospel is essentially a method. Its distinctive endowments are working powers. It is not distinguished so much by its great precepts, "Love God" and "Love man," — which are not peculiar to it, — as by the means which it furnishes for exciting the love it commands. How to love God and man was the desideratum, and this Christianity teaches by the discipline and development of affections and purposes which its ministerial methods, its doctrines, symbols, hopes, promises, facts, examples, afford to the obedient spirit. To apply its ways and means, its healing and its guidance, to the sick and blind soul, — this is the work of its missionaries and representatives; and this is just what our author himself does, and teaches us to do, when, in the present work, he brings the very atmosphere of Palestine, the very presence of Christ, the very modes and sentiments and threatenings and injunctions used by Jesus himself in healing sinners, to bear upon us sinners of the nineteenth century.

We have recently had, in sermons and elaborate articles, a good deal of criticism of creeds and churches from the external point of view furnished by philosophy and worldly experience, by science and history and common sense. Able, wise, and serviceable men have considered Christianity in its contrasts and in its analogies with all other things, and furnished us with a sort of compromise between worldly and heavenly wisdom, — holding an unprejudiced and even scale between the claims of evangelical and all other truth. But while our author shows himself fully acquainted with all other systems of thought and philosophy, he is out and out a Christian, — pledged exclusively to the special interests of the Gospel, and

depending wholly on its arsenal for his weapons, on its methods for his influence. By conviction, affection, and settled purpose, he stands inside the Gospel, and looks out from its inclosure upon the world, — opening its windows and doors to let forth its doves and bestow its gifts, and mounting its towers as the most commanding point of view whence to survey the landscape of humanity. To him the Gospel is not a state residence, or a picturesque castle, or a fortress of retreat, but a home, — a house genial with tended fires and furniture disposed for use, a table freshly spread, and occupants familiar and dear, — from which, as from a place to live and die in, the world and its philosophy and science and experience are to be surveyed with unanxious yet keen interest, but without a thought of ever deserting the Christian homestead under any attractions or detractions, or from any panic or promise, coming from without. It is as to a home, — his Father's house, — that he invites the weary and the wandering, when, with affectionate fidelity, he describes all the accommodations and conveniences for the sick, the wretched, the hungry, and the shelterless, which belong to the Gospel of Christ. An indescribable domesticity of feeling pervades the author's account of Christian doctrines and Christian rites, — as if it were some better "elder brother," who had sought the younger son, and was winning the prodigal back by stirring the precious memories and household affections slumbering in his heart.

But in another sense, also, the writer of these Discourses stands within the Gospel he commends. Starting from the vital principle and organic affections of the Gospel, he describes the body and form of Christianity as having grown out of the Spirit, not merely as containing it; as possessing the vitality and giving architectural expression to the life of Christ's truth, not as the edifice built over it, which must be penetrated to find its inmate, and might be changed without injury to its occupant. In that wonderfully suggestive, but somewhat fanciful work of Wilkinson's, called "The Human Body and its Relations to Man," the vulgar prejudices by which the relations of the flesh and the spirit are ordinarily described, as if body and soul were opposites and enemies, and without any other than a forced and temporary con-

nection, are mercilessly exposed. We are there made to feel that the body is a growth of the soul, and as much entitled to respect and reverence as is any other part of the being. In a similar temper, Mr. Bartol leaves us with the conviction, that the body and form are not accidental, inferior, perishable parts of Christianity, — the shell and costume of the spirit and life, — but the incarnated word, — the proper and eternal shape and visible presence of Christianity, — having for the sole condition of their perpetuity the continued existence of beings with our wants and organs to receive and require them. In his hands, the forms and doctrines and methods of the Gospel appear no less spiritual than its precepts, temper, and essence, and precisely as the figure and features and speech and movements of a saint heighten and clarify our conceptions of his devoutness, so the rites and forms of our religion nourish and purge our spiritual apprehensions of it.

Much attention is now drawn, very happily, to the uses of the imagination in the interpretation and digestion of Christian doctrines and forms. Drs. Bushnell and Park have rendered invaluable services to our New England theology by their powerful pleas for its free exercise in the study of religion; and the able Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education is awakening the attention of teachers to its neglected rights and powers throughout his extensive sphere of influence. We know no modern writer on religious themes who possesses a purer, more fertile, or more useful imagination than the author of this volume. It is perhaps his first intellectual attribute, the distinctive feature of his mind. Subtile and rare as his thoughts and emotions are, they all take on emphatic shapes in his creative fancy, — bodies as airy and spiritual as themselves, yet distinctly bounded and colored. There is nothing so gross to vulgar minds, that his touch cannot purify and spiritualize it; nothing so aerial, that the same finger cannot give it a local habitation and a name. It is this realizing imagination which has enabled our author to enter so deeply into the Oriental heart of our religion, and to show us that human nature must itself be Orientalized as a part of its very regeneration; that the decay of the imagination is one of the worst consequences of sin and sensuality, — the ugliest part of

the ruin of the soul, — the ophthalmia which blinds the mind to the cathedral grandeur, extent, and complexity of the Gospel system, and leaves a few awkward buttresses, unmeaning columns, and disconnected pinnacles, in discordant and isolated shapes, pricking the dull retina, and passing for the architecture of Christianity. By intense meditation and fervid feeling and poetic sympathy, Mr. Bartol has organized and unified the great doctrines and forms of Christianity, until, free alike from abstractness or particularity, without sharpness of outline or confusion of parts, they stand together a glorious temple, whose wings and dome are lost in the horizon and the heavens, but whose portal opens at our knock, and in whose shelter or shadow we find all the heat and all the coolness our fainting hearts alternately require.

And this brings us round to our starting-point. It is as a living reality, as an actual fact, as a proved necessity, that our author presents the Gospel. He takes its truth for granted, as established by the best of all evidence, the growing affection, confidence, and reverence of human nature for nearly two thousand years. He does not ask what Christianity ought to be, or might be made, but only what it is; or rather he does not so much ask that, as allow it to present itself in its time-hallowed and eternal aspect, and claim the love and service of the hearts for which it was made. It is this positive, real, healthy downrightness of faith, embracing the Gospel as the greatest and most glorious fact, the oldest and most venerated institution, the profoundest necessity and the most precious luxury of society; this bold yet modest reliance upon the uncorrupted faith of the human heart towards its greatest benefactor, Christ; this free yet strict, spiritual yet formal, transcendental yet practical, authoritative but deferential, simple yet complex, poetical yet plain statement of our common religion, — which, while it gives its charm and power to this work, is still more valuable as indicative of the religious tendencies of the times; promising from the very bosom of criticism and free inquiry to bring forth a more lowly and implicit faith, — from the very quarter of sharp and dialectic distinction to furnish a generous and flowing outline of the living Gospel, and from anti-creed and anti-ritual positions to illustrate a catholic reception and

fruition of all the truths, sentiments, and usages in Christianity, which the devout affections and heart-inspired reason of the race have proved to be life-giving, comforting, and saving to the soul.

H. W. B.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Works of SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D., *First Pastor of the Church in Great Barrington, Mass., afterwards Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, R. I. With a Memoir of his Life and Character.* Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society. 1852. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 266 and 534, 770, 798.

IT was by the Memoir, which fills a third part of one of these solid volumes, that we were attracted through the promise of an expectation that has been more than fulfilled. For this Memoir is not only from the pen of Professor Park of Andover, but it is also such a labor of hearty, painstaking, and enthusiastic love, that the whole structure of it and every page of it have a freshness which carries a reader through its perusal with an intense interest. We know not where to look for an equally charming Memoir, even on the shelves so laden with pious and skilful biographies of deceased divines. Apart from all the doctrinal and controversial issues opened by this biography, the human story, the portraiture of a character, the method and experience of a life as presented in it, and all, too, with such a rare felicity of style, have chained our attention, and made us feel a deep regret that it was not even more extended, that the pleasure it affords might have been prolonged.

And yet we have more than once drawn our eyes from the book, and wondered that we could follow its narrative with a common, natural, human interest. For we have accompanied its perusal with an occasional reference to the "System of Doctrines," Essays, and Sermons which accompany it, and have been lost in amazement at the stern and appalling views so pertinaciously advocated by a kind-hearted and right-minded man. How any one could study the Bible with the entire devotion which Dr. Hopkins gave to it, and could spend a long life of the most generous self-consecration in addressing from it lessons of piety and duty to man, and yet could have so strangely misinterpreted what seems to us to be the truth beaming from every

sentence of it, — this is to us a riddle which makes our very brain to ache. The only solution which we can find for it is in referring the unscriptural theology of this Divine, persisted in and indurated as it was, to the irresistible bias of an early Calvinistic training. Sentences of Scripture were associated in his first religious exercises with a view of the Divine government and of the nature, relations, and destiny of man which no afterthought or study had power to alter or to rectify.

Our readers may call to mind that delightful little piece of reminiscence which Dr. Channing has given us in a Note to his Sermon at Newport, on occasion of the dedication as a Unitarian church of the edifice in which Dr. Hopkins had ministered. In the body of that Sermon, as well as in the Note, Dr. Channing has spoken of Dr. Hopkins in terms of most respectful personal regard, while he has at the same time characterized his hideous and direful creed with a most felicitous power. If we remember rightly, the Unitarian divine becomes almost jocose as he pleasantly records how the Calvinistic preachers of his day could deliver sermons on the torments of the wicked in hell, and then go home with an unimpaired appetite to enjoy a hearty dinner. So little of stern reality was there in the professed belief of such tenets. The delicate skill with which Dr. Channing treated the noble-hearted teacher of a most grim theology, the genial spirit which so fully appreciated the self-denying and philanthropic advocate of a most unrelenting and inhuman doctrinal system, may have helped to quicken our interest in this Memoir. But if we grant this, it shall be no abatement of our grateful thanks to Professor Park for his thorough and admirable delineation of a life and character in which there was so much of lofty virtue and of Christian excellence. Our ideal of one of the better sort of New England ministers, in the generations before our own, is a high one, but it is exalted by this Memoir, in which, with the utmost simplicity of outward circumstances and through a rugged way of duty, we see a man without any indebtedness to fortune, with the worst possible delivery, with no regular salary for a dependence, and with a creed so harsh, and so inflexibly announced as rather to repel than to win sympathy, nobly pursuing his work in life as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. The biographer seems to have spared no labor in hunting out materials, not so much to enrich as to complete his memorial. He has so classified and arranged the particulars which he wished to communicate, and has so relieved the weariness of a continuous narrative by numerous subdivisions and episodes, and has so skilfully interwoven passages from diaries, letters, and other sources, with his own web, that the attention of a reader can scarcely flag on a single page. One may well understand, like-

wise, that the task of delineating the mind and the theology of Dr. Hopkins was not wholly free from certain delicate risks and liabilities for an Andover Professor, considering how the theology of that School now stands in the view of the whole Calvinistic communion.

Dr. Hopkins was born at Waterbury, Conn., on Sunday, September 17, 1721, and died at Newport, R. I., on Tuesday, December 20, 1803, in the sixty-second year of his ministry, and in the eighty-third year of his age. He came of a most religious stock, and considered it his highest honor to have been descended from ancestors who for two centuries had been professors of religion, "and many of them, if not all, *real Christians.*" He dreamed, when young, that the sentence to hell pronounced against the wicked in Matthew xxv. was passed against him and his brother; a dream from the impression of which he seems never to have been rid through the remainder of his life. A severely logical and mathematical training at Yale, with a strong metaphysical tendency in his own nature, seems to have fitted him for the task of his life as a dogmatical theologian. By his own account of himself, he joined the Church, that is, made a public profession of religion, when he was in an unconverted state, and was unable afterwards to decide whether the incident should be dated in his eighteenth or in his nineteenth year. As that incident in the religious history of one who holds the Calvinistic creed is of such vital and paramount importance, — because the inward process which it is supposed to indicate decides the most awful and momentous issue of one's destiny for eternity, — we cannot but marvel at any confusion of memory as to the precise time of its occurrence. But we find throughout the Memoir of Dr. Hopkins many allusions which indicate his own misgivings as to the signs and tokens commonly relied upon to prove "the spiritual birth." For instance, his Diary gives this record: — "Was sent for in the intermission to-day to go and see ———. The messenger said she was dying; but when I came there, I found her full of joy and comfort, supposing she had had saving discoveries of Christ. She admired the goodness of God, and called upon all to praise him. Upon examining her, I was satisfied that she was deceived; that it was only the workings of her imagination. She was confident; but I told her my fears. How exposed to the delusions of the Devil are ignorant persons! especially those whose understanding is shattered, and their imagination lively by a fever." (Memoir, pp. 36, 37.) Frequent as have been the descriptions of the Calvinistic process of conversion or regeneration, and similar as they all are in substance, we have never yet met with a thorough analysis of that process, considered philosophically,

ethically, and spiritually. There is no decisive test of it, for hypocrisy may deceive all but the professed subject of it, and mental blindness or the power of the Devil may prevail in the heart of one who regards himself as such a subject. Certainly that change has been claimed to have been experienced by many, and has been ecclesiastically ratified to them, when their most intimate friends have not observed in them any radical change of character; while declensions and the need of a second renewal are equally familiar and unaccountable phenomena. The famous Dr. West acknowledged that "for eight years he had attempted to preach a Saviour whom he knew not."

Whitefield, Tennent, and Brainerd were the instruments through whom the converting work was wrought upon young Hopkins, though he seems to have been long in doubt as to the fact and the method of it. After completing his college course he was a prey to religious melancholy, moody and distressed; the dream of his childhood haunted him. That any one could pass in youth through such religious experiences and not bear through life the effects of them, in a warped and diseased state of the whole spiritual nature, may be regarded as impossible. It is to be remembered, too, that this period of Hopkins's life was marked by a general ferment and distraction on the subject of religion all around him. It was the era of the "New Lights," when wandering ministers and laymen, as well as women, flushed and kindled with a sense of their special gifts, were strolling over the country to get up revivals, and were making inquisition from house to house; — as offensive, and, in the long result, as mischievous a proceeding, and as harmful to the interests of true religion, as any course of measures that could possibly be devised. Hopkins went to live and to pursue his studies with the honored and revered Edwards, then fulfilling his faithful but unpropitious ministry at Northampton. For that distinguished teacher and friend, Hopkins had a feeling but little short of veneration, and his more than filial fidelity to the memory and fame and family of that metaphysical divine is one of the most engaging traits in the character of the subject of this Memoir. But when we read of the fervor and excitement attendant upon the zealous labors of the pure-hearted Edwards in that most captivating of all the towns of New England, how dreary it is to realize the fact of the slender influence which he gained over the hearts and lives of his people! How little must there have been of the true practice of the plain, humble, faithful, Christian virtues, in a parish where such a man as Edwards could have been driven off by an ungrateful people! One would suppose that, if he had communicated the most precious elements of Christian sentiment and principle to but a few of his parishioners, such a result could not have followed.

Professor Park gives us a most graphic and beautiful sketch of the ministerial life, trials, efforts, and entire devotion of Hopkins during the twenty-five years of his labors at Great Barrington. A perfect guilelessness of heart, a lofty sense of responsibility, great humility in the estimate of his own powers and success, and the true Christian spirit of self-denial and self-consecration, were the unmistakable characteristics of the man. He showed and exercised the same heroic and Christian qualities in his longer ministry at Newport. But the outward circumstances attendant upon his ministerial life in Berkshire were peculiarly depressing. He had as hard material to work upon as ever yet fell to the lot of a New England pastor. His congregation was composed of a mixture of barbarized Dutchmen and border Yankees, and the dram-shop was a formidable opponent of his labors. The attempt to indoctrinate a set of such persons with thorough Calvinism would seem to be as hopeless as the effort to teach dancing to a rhinoceros. They must have been very hard subjects to convert, and in some respects the worse for the process. Yet with what a devoted soul the pastor labored! Not altogether either without an eye to his own security against starvation; for finding that even his meagre salary was not forthcoming, he became a very excellent farmer, and got possession of some acres, the tillage of which, we will venture to say, was not proportionately more difficult than was his strictly professional husbandry. What vivid images does Professor Park give us of the toiling country minister, now tramping through the woods to preach to the Stockbridge Indians, or to enjoy the rich treat of a conference with Edwards in the same forests; or attending Commencement at Yale; or arranging for a ride with some brother minister; or studying over the manuscripts of some polemical essay; or seeking to find, by sheer perseverance and by faith in an answer to his prayers, some channel of entrance for what he deemed the Gospel to the hearts of parishioners whose sensibilities were harder than the roads and the rocks around them.

His ministry at Newport was alike troubled and unsuccessful. He barely obtained a pastorship there; his society was always small, his strictly professional influence over them was but feeble, the Revolutionary war wellnigh terminated, when it interrupted, his labors, and there were no fruits of his work in the pulpit on which he could congratulate himself. For a rich piece of narrative, we would refer our readers to the account given in the Memoir of the "learned sermon" preached by Dr. Stiles at the installation of Mr. Hopkins; the Doctor having made the most of his intimacy with the Jewish Rabbis of Newport to get up as pedantic a sermon as was probably ever preached. The

Memoir appears to aim at great fidelity in representing the character and course of Hopkins. He was blunt, rigid, inflexible, and uncompromising; yet his benevolence was of the largest and noblest sort, of the profoundest depth, and of the broadest range. He was an eminent philanthropist, a leader in the opposition to slavery and the slave-trade, — though his own friends and neighbors were so interested against his zeal, — an advocate and a most laborious agent of African colonization, and a man whose slender resources were ungrudgingly bestowed for every good work.

Dr. Hopkins was constitutionally despondent, and looked to the dark side. "His ministerial success was in edifying saints, more than in converting sinners." Had we space for any deliberate criticism of the system of doctrines which he embraced, and to which, as a modification of Calvinism, his own name was attached as a distinctive epithet, we should aim to show that the system is entirely of human origin and invention; a complete perversion of the Gospel scheme; utterly inconsistent with common sense, with good reason, with the attributes of God and the nature of man; wholly without power to accomplish the purpose at which Christianity aims; and, in fine, a self-destructive, a repulsive, and an abominable system. There is not a page of the author's doctrinal writings which can bear the test of Scripture or reason. Take the sentence, "For he did hate and abhor himself." Suppose we ask, What is *that* in a man that thus hates and abhors something else in him? What is that *in him* which thus sits in judgment upon the remaining elements of himself? Or take a question which Hopkins puts to himself in his Journal (Memoir, p. 26), "How can I long for holiness unless I am in some measure sanctified?" What can we make of these questions in consistency with Hopkins's system?

He says in his System of Doctrines (p. 37), that the origin of the difference and opposition of opinion that have taken place among professing Christians, respecting the doctrines of Christianity, is their different and opposite notions of the character and perfections of God. And why should we not ascribe as much influence to differences of opinion concerning the nature of man? In what bald, crude, and unintelligible terms does he assert the doctrine of the Trinity: "The Scriptures teach us that there are three in this one God. Not three Gods, for this would be a contradiction; but that this Infinite Being exists in such a manner, as to be three distinct substances or persons, and yet but one God." (p. 62.) Now the writer must have been aware that no possible idea can be formed of any such division of one being into three persons. There is no need of arguing the point. The statement is flat nonsense, and any

man in his senses ought to be ashamed to advance it. But if he allows himself to talk or write in that way, we must protest against his prefacing the remark with the assertion, that "the Scriptures teach" it, for there certainly is no *teaching* in the doctrine. That Dr. Hopkins could avail himself of the liberty of explaining Scripture language as figurative when it suited his purpose to do so, is evident from his positive tone in the following sentence: "The Scriptures, indeed, speak of God as repenting that he had made man, and being grieved at his heart, which when spoken of man denote uneasiness and pain; but these expressions concerning God cannot reasonably be understood as meaning any such thing." And why not? we might ask. Surely, if Hopkins's view of the nature and destiny of man be true, there is reason enough why God should *repent*, in the most literal sense of the word, of having created such a being. Our author speaks of Satan — the title, be it remembered, was applied by our Saviour to Peter — as if he had a knowledge of his intellectual, as well as of his moral character. "Satan has no moral goodness, has no wisdom. He does not discern and propose any good end, but the contrary; and is devising and pursuing methods to accomplish his evil designs. Therefore, however clear and right his speculations may be in some instances, and though he may be very subtle and cunning, he has no wisdom, and no true discerning in things of a moral nature; but all his proposals, designs, and pursuits are directly the reverse of wisdom." (p. 44.) Now if Satan has really done but the half of that which Hopkins's system ascribes to his agency, — if he has circumvented the plans of God, and turned to evil what the Creator pronounced "good," and is sure at last of the majority of human beings as his trophies, — he has indeed shown a marvellous talent which is scarcely distinguishable from wisdom, however poor the use to which he has put it. We can sympathize with the opinion of the Rev. Dr. Chauncy of Boston, as reported by Dr. Stiles, in whose diary we read the following: "I received a letter from Dr. Chauncy, in which he asks an account of the two negroes intended [by Mr. Hopkins] for the African mission. He thinks a white missionary ought to go with them, and should not be educated by Mr. H——; for he thinks that the negroes had better continue in Paganism than embrace Mr. H——'s scheme, which he judges far more blasphemous." (Memoir, p. 133.) Dr. Chauncy was one of those Massachusetts ministers whom Hopkins called "awfully sunken creatures." (Memoir, p. 130.) We may add his own religious self-estimate: "My life and character, and all my exercises, are stained with such an awful degree of moral depravity and pollution, that I feel myself infinitely far from any righteousness

or moral goodness that can recommend me to the favor of God; and if I am dealt with according to my moral character and desert, I must be cast off by God, and made miserable for ever." (Memoir, p. 113.) In this sentence Hopkins either unveils an awful degree of hypocrisy in himself, in the profession which he had made of entire consecration to the will and the service of God; or else he ascribes to our Heavenly Father, as revealed by Christ, an unrelenting hideousness of ferocity which belongs to no false god of Paganism. The common infirmities which remain after an entire consecration of the life to God *cannot* be regarded as *deserving* the doom of an everlasting woe.

The three volumes before us take their place in a series of republications, or collections, of the works of the old worthies of New England. The enterprise is a part of an earnest and vigorous, and, we must add, hopeless effort, to reinstate here the lost power of Calvinism. But the spell of that religious system has been for ever broken. There is a grateful tribute paid in this enterprise to men who personally were worthy of high regard. Those who now claim to hold the faith which they held may have a right to avail themselves of all the rugged and laborious piety of their predecessors. But is there no risk that the reproduction of an old standard of doctrine will show how widely those who profess to come nearest to it have in fact departed from it?

Life of Roger Williams, *the Earliest Legislator and True Champion for a Full and Absolute Liberty of Conscience.* By Romeo Elton, D. D., F. R. P. S. Providence: George H. Whitney. 1853. 16mo. pp. 173.

Another Life of the founder of the Colony of Rhode Island; and, bating a qualification, the grounds of which we shall proceed to state, a very good Life of him.

Our historians and annalists are constantly congratulating us that our "beginnings" are founded on veritable and trustworthy records, and on well-established verities, eschewing all that is fabulous and misleading. This is a fact. We hope that the assertion may always remain true. And that it may continue to distinguish our annals, our historians and biographers must be exceedingly careful to practise a rigid impartiality in the relation of some very interesting, but easily pervertible, incidents and stories of our earliest colonial history. There bids fair to be two *myths* in our annals, if great caution is not practised. One of these *myths* is gathering around the story of Roger Williams; the other, around the story of "the Quaker pe
are concerned here only with the former.

And let us declare at once, and decisively, that we have no abatement to suggest from that lofty and just renown, that proud and glorious and pure distinction, which belongs to Roger Williams as an early, though not the *first*, assertor of liberty of conscience. Henry Jacob, the minister of the first Congregational church in England, published a book in 1609, advocating unlimited religious toleration, thus anticipating Williams, and making him the second public defender of that noble principle. That fame justly belongs to Williams, and though in the first part of his New England life he seems to have forgotten that other persons had consciences, his trespasses upon the rights of others were confined to words. Nor do we intend to detract in the slightest degree from the praise which attaches to his sweetness of temper, to his single-hearted disinterestedness, to his magnanimity in loving those who, as he believed, had dealt harshly by him. Take him for all in all, he was one of the most amiable and excellent of men, — one of the most saintly of the New England stock. We will go any lengths with his eulogists in extolling his virtues, his sacrificing, patient, friendly character, and his entire devotedness to some of the noblest ends for which a human being can live.

But still we affirm that there is a risk lest there shall grow up a *myth* about Roger Williams. There is just that air of romance, that spirit of exaggeration, that haze of indistinctness, about some of the incidents of his history, and just such a perplexity in the issues opened between him and many of his contemporaries, as is most favorable to the growth of the fabulous around the true. We think, in a word, that Roger Williams is praised, and is presented in the hue of romance, somewhat at the expense of others; and that there is such a temptation and facility for the slight misinterpretation of a few very important facts, that the result is a growing error in the popular view of his career. Never were two sweeter spirits encased in mortal clay than were those of John Winthrop and John Cotton; and though their alleged ill-treatment of Roger Williams is accounted to their guiltless mistake as to the just claims of conscience, we must nevertheless regard as a mythical relation whatever narrative leaves unjustified the conduct of those excellent men in this particular, or ascribes to them one whit less of forbearance, or magnanimity, or wisdom, than is claimed for Roger Williams. The simple truth is, that, if they confounded religion and politics, he confounded certain civil matters with his conscientiousness as to matters of faith. He was something beside a heretic in their eyes. It was well that he vindicated the largest tolerance, for he certainly needed it in his own course.

In the first place, Roger Williams was an *intruder* into the

Colony of Massachusetts. According to the fair view of facts, he had really no more right to come upon this soil, and to interest himself in the doings of that joint-stock company who were establishing themselves here, than he would have had to have gone unasked on board of the vessel which brought Winthrop and his companions over sea, and claimed a berth and a free passage, and interfered with the captain, and disputed the regulations of the voyagers. That he was at first welcomed here, that the colonists were glad to have him among them, and were ready and eager to avail themselves of his zeal and piety, does not alter the fact that he came into a place of which others, at great cost, and by personal sacrifices, and by agreements mutually risking their property and subjecting themselves to each other's surveillance and good or bad conduct, had exclusive possession. Nor does the fact that the Colonists expected to receive newcomers who were not original parties to their enterprise, and that they even invited such to transport themselves hither, at all justify any trespass upon their principles; for they of course designed to enforce these upon all who should join them.

This fact seems to us to offer the key, and indeed a justification, of the whole course pursued by the magistrates of Massachusetts towards Roger Williams. The idea that the trading company who planted the Bay Colony intended to open a free harborage and asylum for all sorts of discontented, erratic, or enterprising strollers from the Old World, and to allow them at their coming a vote in any matters which touched their own vested rights and peculiar institutions, is a simple absurdity. What would be thought of a person who should force himself into one of our Shaker societies, demanding a home, a vote in their affairs, and a liberty of denouncing their church principles? Roger Williams, in the essential, practical view of his case, did just this. Now let it be understood that we are not commending the method of action adopted by our fathers; we are not approving their union of Church and State; we are not vindicating the wisdom of their institutions; we are simply stating the facts of the case. They considered that they had the same right to an absolute control of all their affairs within the territory defined by their "patent," as one of our manufacturing corporations, or one of the aforesaid Shaker societies, claims in the administration of its own interests.

Mr. Williams arrived here in February, 1631. He was banished from the jurisdiction of Massachusettts in 1635, for sedition and defamation, according to the record of his sentence. In the interval he had preached at Salem and at Plymouth. With all his gentleness and sincerity of spirit, and all his unquestioned purity of purpose, he was nevertheless so scrupulous, or

factious, or irritating in his conscientiousness, that he was a cause of constant heart-burning and annoyance to those who were charged with the administration of affairs, at a time when harmony was all-essential. He certainly was a disturber of the public peace, a heady, opinionated, and most troublesome person, and at first he was unjust in his opposition to the fair rights of others. So that, besides being an intruder, he was a seditious person. No one, we think, can read the letters which the excellent Cotton addressed to him, and fail to be convinced that Williams pursued here a most irritating course. "Aged Mr. Brewster [of Plymouth] had warned the whole church of the danger of his spirit." Many were "the jealousies which generally the judicious sort of Christians had conceived of his self-conceited and unquiet and unlambelike spirit." He questioned the king's patent, by which the Colonists held their dominion, asserting that only the natives could grant such dominion, and thus he struck at the very foundations of civil government, and of all the rights of property here. It was not pretended that the English royal charter annulled the rights of the natives, for the Colonists respected these by purchasing their land; but that it gave precedence over all other foreign claims, and over all grants that might emanate from the same source. Williams himself afterwards went to England to obtain precisely the same sort of a charter for his own colony. Then he denounced and excommunicated the church at Boston, because it would not make a public declaration of repentance for having been in communion with the Church of England. Plymouth Colony was not obnoxious to either of these scruples of his, for it had no "patent," and was settled by "Separatists," but he was no more happy in his spirit there. Again, he complained of a "Hireling Ministry." And why not of a *hireling magistracy*? Our historian, Mr. Bancroft, thinks that Williams made a very smart answer in this controversy about the tax for ministers. "What," asked the magistrate, "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," replied Williams, "from those that hire him!" Now, unfortunately for the pith and pertinency of this answer, the Colonists had hired the ministers, and all those who sought to share the fortunes of the Colonists, of course, were pledged by the solemn contracts which the company had made with their agents and servants. The company had hired the ministers, and specimens of the contracts, under which every one who came here might be legally taxed for the support of religion, may be found in Dr. Young's invaluable volume, "The Chronicles of Massachusetts." This sort of agreement and the consequent and compulsory support of religion may have been unwise, but that did not justify "sedition." Again, Roger Wil-

liams objected to the "Freeman's Oath," by which the right of franchise was secured. But could he suppose that, after all of the Colonists had disposed of their estates in England, and had invested the proceeds in a perilous and costly enterprise here, they would allow any body and every body to vote in their affairs without exacting any conditions which would secure harmony in matters most vital, as they believed, to their success? It was not only that certain civil privileges depended upon religious conformity, but an admission to religious fellowship conferred political power, and so far involved the property of a corporation. It was not at all to the point for Williams to say that the civil and ecclesiastical powers ought to be separated. His conviction would not cover the facts of the case, nor meet its perplexity, for the civil and ecclesiastical functions *were united*, and could not be severed but by a fundamental change in the whole enterprise that had been undertaken. Certainly one who had no property in the company was not exactly the person to insist upon its disruption. Even the occasional meeting together of the ministers for social and fraternal intercourse was a matter of alarm to Mr. Williams, and he endeavored to prevent it. He instigated Endicott to remove the cross from the English banner as idolatrous; and if that act had been known in England, it might have brought a severe judgment against the Colony. The conscientious man at last excommunicated all the churches, not only of the Bay, but of Christendom, and his scruples would not allow him to hold religious services even with his own wife. Cotton Mather said of him, that "he had a windmill in his head," a remark not wholly without significance.

But the mythical or romantic air which has gathered around the history of this interesting and pure-minded man makes great account of his harsh banishment into "a wintry wilderness." Williams himself loved to refer, with a quaint and pathetic rehearsal of his experience, to this lonely and chilling fate, to which he has been supposed to have been mercilessly sentenced. But where were all the Colonists at this time? Where but in *a wilderness*? The romance and hardship of this experience lose nothing in Dr. Elton's narrative, though he afterwards incidentally remarks that Williams, in the "fourteen weeks in which he was sorely tossed, in a bitter winter season," was "probably journeying among the Indian tribes, visiting their chiefs, and adjusting matters for his permanent settlement." It is true that he started upon his pilgrimage about the middle of January, 1636 (N. S.). But this did not enter into the intention of those who had banished him. He was sentenced in November, and was allowed to remain until the next spring. In the mean while he made preparations in Salem to draw some of his friends

with him in planning a plantation at Narraganset. The Court were offended with him, because, as they thought, he abused their leniency "in venting his seditious opinions" to those who waited upon his ministry in his own house. So it was determined to send him to England in a vessel then about to sail; but when he was summoned and sought, he had taken alarm, and gone into "the wilderness." Had he been sent to England, he would have had no just cause of complaint against the magistrates, for it was evident that he could not live in civil peace with them, to say nothing of religious matters. Mr. Cotton says that, after his sentence, "some of his friends went to the place appointed by himself beforehand, to make provision of housing, and other necessaries for him against his coming." "Nor did I ever see cause to doubt, but that in some cases (such as this of his was) banishment is a lawful and just punishment, if it be in proper speech a punishment at all, in such a country as this is, where the jurisdiction whence a man is banished is but small, and the country round about it large and fruitful; where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant and profitable seats than he leaveth behind him; in which respect banishment in this country is not counted so much a confinement as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much lose civil comforts as change them."

Roger Williams did indeed find pleasanter regions and freedom of outward action in the delightful scenes where he made a new settlement. But life was not all of a rose-color to him there. Rhode Island, being made a refuge for "all sorts of consciences," witnessed some strange doings, and the spirit of its illustrious founder was sore vexed by many troubles. He was surrounded by people whose consciences seemed to be composed of sharp angles, and people of that sort are with difficulty brought together, unless they submit to the conditions which they mutually require, — which they are not apt to do. After the fanatical Gorton had been well whipped in that colony, and banished thence, he returned, and Providence applied to Massachusetts for aid against him. Indeed Williams himself, in a letter to our General Court, expressed a conviction that, if his distracted colony were only subject to the government of this, it would be "a rich mercy." Nor did the good man find rest in his own religious conflicts. Having questioned the sufficiency of his baptism in the Church of England, he allowed a layman, Ezekiel Holliman, to repeat the rite for him in 1639, and then he performed the same service for Holliman and ten other persons. In a few months, however, he renounced this baptism, and became satisfied that all such seals and ordinances had lost their validity, and had no proper administrators on account of a general

apostasy. Yet through all his erratic experience we cannot but love the man, for he was ever estimable, devoted, and Christian in his whole walk through life.

There is some quite novel and very racy matter to be found in Dr. Elton's small volume. It consists of a correspondence between Roger Williams and Mrs. Anne Sadleir, of Stondon, England. This lady was a daughter of the famous Sir Edward Coke, who, it seems, was an early benefactor of Williams. The original manuscripts of the correspondence are in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Hon. George Bancroft having informed Dr. Elton of that fact. The correspondence appears to have taken place during a visit of Williams to England in 1652–53 on the business of his colony. It began with a sweet courtesy on his part, and though at first engaged in by the lady with a tolerable grace, it was brought to a close by her in a spirit of shrewish and malignant bitterness. Williams wrote to the lady in terms of most sincere regard, expressing "the never-dying honor and respect which I owe to that dear honorable root and his branches," i. e. to Sir Edward Coke; informing her of his recent wilderness experiences, of his controversial labors, of his calm trust in God and a good conscience. At the same time he sends the lady some of his books. The daughter of his patron replies, "I have given over reading many books, and therefore, with thanks, have returned yours. Those that I now read, besides the Bible, are, first, the late king's book [Charles]; Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; Reverend Bishop Andrews's Sermons, with his other divine meditations; Dr. Jeremy Taylor's works, and Dr. Thomas Jackson upon the Creed. Some of these my dear father was a great admirer of, and would often call them the glorious lights of the Church of England. These lights shall be my guide; I wish they may be yours: for your new lights that are so much cried up, I believe, in the conclusion, they will prove but dark lanterns; therefore I dare not meddle with them. Your friend in the old way, Anne Sadleir." In his next letter Williams acknowledges with a gentle meekness, yet with an evident opinion of his own, that her reply was "a bitter sweeting." He promises to read, and afterwards to give her his opinion of some of the books to which she refers him, and in the mean while he sends her a copy of his rejoinder to Mr. Cotton's Reply to "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience." The lady answers by expressing her satisfaction and glory in being a member of the Church of England, and adds, that when she looked upon the frontispiece of his book, she durst not adventure to look into it because of that word *Bloudy*, and the sad memories which it called up; so she, "with thanks," returns it. Two of her sentences are

more emphatic than true: "I cannot call to mind any blood shed for conscience. Some few that went about to make a rent in our once well-governed Church were punished, but none suffered death. But this I know, that since it has been left to every man's conscience to fancy what religion he list, there has more Christian blood been shed than was in the ten persecutions. ..... Thus entreating you to trouble me no more in this kind, and wishing you a good journey," &c. With no loss of temper or courtesy, yet still with a mind of his own, Williams, in a lengthened reply, acknowledges her civility and gentleness. He says he does not wonder at her confidence in the books she had previously mentioned, "for all this have I done myself, until the Father of Spirits mercifully persuaded mine to swallow down no longer without chewing; to chew no longer without tasting; to taste no longer without begging the Holy Spirit of God," &c. "And as for the king's book, I knew his person, vicious, a swearer from his youth, and an oppressor and persecutor of good men," &c. "Against his and his blasphemous father's cruelties, your own dear father, and many precious men, shall rise up shortly and cry for vengeance." Entering at some length upon the matter of persecution, and with a slight sketch of a system of true divinity, the persevering writer asks the lady to read Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," and "Mr. Milton's answer to the king's book." But the lady has now lost her temper and become a perfect termagant, as will appear from sentences of her closing letter. "Mr. Williams, — I thought my first letter would have given you so much satisfaction, that, in that kind, I should never have heard of you any more; but it seems you have a face of brass, so that you cannot blush..... For the foul and false aspersions you have cast upon that king, of ever-blessed memory, Charles the Martyr, I protest I trembled when I read them, and none but such a villain as yourself would have wrote them..... For Milton's book, that you desire I should read, if I be not mistaken, that is he that has wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce; and, if report say true, he had, at that time, two or three wives living. [!] ..... God has begun his judgment upon him here [in blindness]; his punishment will be hereafter in hell. I believe that Bishop Laud, howsoever he be slighted, will rise a saint, when many seeming ones, such as you are, will rise devils..... I will walk as directly to heaven as I can, in which place, if you will turn from being a rebel, and fear God and obey the king, there is hope I may meet you there; howsoever, trouble me no more with your letters, for they are very troublesome to her that wishes you in the place from whence you came."

This amiable lady has indorsed on one of her correspondent's epistles to her the following: — "This Roger Williams, when he

was a youth, would, in a short hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such liking to him that he sent him into Sutton's Hospital [now the Charter-House], and he was the second that was placed there; full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the king, and his country. I leave his letters, that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome." It is to be hoped that the consort of Mrs. Sadleir either had no opinions on important matters, or else that they accorded with those of his lady; otherwise his marital state must have been an unquiet one.

The colony founded by Roger Williams adopted into its constitution the principle of unlimited religious freedom, providing by statute for that noble indulgence of conscience which had been enjoyed in Holland. Rhode Island, however, had been anticipated on this continent in legislation for that freedom. Leonard Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who as a Roman Catholic had been driven from Episcopal Virginia, had, in 1634, made his colony of Maryland free to all professed Christians. There is reason for believing that Rhode Island denied the right of franchise to Roman Catholics and to all persons not Christians. Judge Eddy, indeed, has labored to disprove the alleged fact, and Dr. Elton considers that he has succeeded in his attempt. Still, the matter is not cleared up. It has not been satisfactorily disproved that the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in 1663, excluded from citizenship the two classes of persons above named, and that the Assembly, in 1783, passed a statute which repealed the former one.

Let the full truth of history, as regards Roger Williams and every other prominent character in our annals, be kept inviolate. We need have no myths in our history. We have respect enough for the venerable person with whom we have been dealing, to believe that he would accept no praise which was won for him by any misrepresentation of the views of such men as Winthrop and Cotton, whom he revered and loved.

Select British Eloquence: embracing the best Speeches, entire, of the most Eminent Orators of Great Britain, for the last Two Centuries; with Sketches of their Lives, an Estimate of their Genius, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By Chauncey A. Goodrich, D. D., Professor in Yale College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. Royal 8vo. pp. 947.

This substantial volume, the contents of which would fill more than half a dozen ordinary octavos, embraces materials which

might be sought in vain in any sixty volumes that could be selected from the largest library. Its wonderful compactness and the completeness of its contents insure to it a value independently of the critical uses for which its subject-matter has been improved. Professor Goodrich has here brought together the choicest specimens of British eloquence from a period of more than two hundred years. And by *specimens* we do not mean pages or passages culled after the fashion of "Elegant Extracts," disjointed fragments of speeches torn from their context, because the compiler has been struck with their rhetoric. The editor of this volume has been guilty of no such folly. The paramount excellence of the plan which he has followed lies in the fact, that he gives us whole speeches; and not only so, but also, in some cases, all the speeches of the most distinguished orators, with the omission of such matter only as hardly makes an exception to the rule. Thus we have in the volume all of Chatham's speeches, eight of which have never before been published in this country; and all of Burke's which he himself prepared for publication, except one of a merely financial character. Professor Goodrich takes the common and just estimate by which British orators are relatively arranged on the scale of distinction, and according to their rank on that scale he gives us more or less of their eloquence. His own introductory sketches, prefixed to the several matters of his volume, his biographical, historical, critical, and philosophical notes, constitute an apparatus of the highest value for the illustration of the speeches, and in fact give to his book the double character of an authentic history and an oratorical compend. Whoever owns this volume has a treasure of wealth which cannot be soon exhausted. The only blemish which we have noticed is, that the editor should have introduced a matter of sectarian controversy, or a piece of religious criticism, as, for instance, in a note to a speech of Lord Brougham's.

Footsteps of our Forefathers: what they suffered and what they sought. Describing Localities, and portraying Personages and Events, conspicuous in the Struggles for Religious Liberty. By James G. Miall. Thirty-six Illustrations by Anelay, from Sketches by the Author. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 352.

Without aiming after any of the severer requisitions of thoroughness and novelty in antiquarian research, the author of this volume has evidently spared no pains to insure perfect fidelity to historic truth in all his statements. We have read his

work with a sympathizing interest. Our deeper feelings of grateful veneration towards those who bore the brunt of the conflict with the foes of an honest conscience and of a free mind, have been profoundly moved by the recital of their experience here given. We award the author the praise of the strictest impartiality. He does not commend sincerity in one form of religious belief, and distrust or impugn it in another form of belief. He does not rebuke a breach of the rights of conscience in one party, and justify it in another party. He holds the scales of candor and justice with an even hand. He is also satisfied with the effect of plain truth in his recitals, without aiming after any rhetorical artifices and one-sided appeals. The thread of his narrative unites all the honored names and all the marked incidents which enter into the great struggles of religious freedom, against ecclesiastical, political, and social tyrannies, from the era and the story of Wickliffe, to the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and to the Bill for Catholic Emancipation, in 1828 and 1829. Why did he not say a word, at least, on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, by which Unitarians are able to hold places of worship bequeathed to them by their fathers? The author's general aim is to show that a state church and the true Church are not identical; that the civil power has no right to legislate on religious matters; and that when it usurps such power, the results are, that the state wins no new security for its own peace and prosperity, and that an element of impurity, worldliness, and discord is introduced into the religious interest of a community. We would commend this volume as having a noble moral, reached and illustrated through a singularly interesting series of historical narrations. There are several pages in it, over the perusal of which the tears of true emotion will start from the eye of the reader.

The Life of BERNARD PALISSY, *of Saintes, his Labors and Discoveries in Art and Science, with an Outline of his Philosophical Doctrines, and a Translation of Illustrative Selections from his Works.* By HENRY MORLEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 303, 347.

THE beautiful story of a life related in these volumes is the most striking exemplification that has as yet fallen under our eyes of the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." The subject of the volumes is fresh and most inviting. It takes us entirely aside from the beaten and familiar paths of our recent literature. Lamartine, it is true, has recently treated the same subject in his style of gossamer and gewgaws of tinted dewdrops; but Mr.

Morley has done justice to it. Even the biographer's frequent digressions, which, as the reader at times has a misgiving, may be a little aside from the story, are on themes unhackneyed and novel, and contribute to the originality of the volumes. We will not enter into any details about the contents of the volumes, or give such a glimpse even of the story as will impair the pleasure which we know a reader will derive from their perusal. We would only say, that the book is a rare and felicitous contribution to literature, and that it will afford the highest delight, the most bracing instruction, and a most quickening impulse towards all that is good.

Essays and Tales in Prose. By BARRY CORNWALL. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 263, 251.

"BARRY CORNWALL" is the literary *alias* of Mr. B. W. Procter. This collection of his prose pieces is made with his own approbation by the publishers in this country, not having been anticipated in England. The author has long been esteemed as one of the most admired of living poets; and now this collection of his prose writings will, we are sure, make him known to yet more readers, who will be tempted to possess themselves of all his published works. He is a pure, a graceful, and a suggestive writer. Passages of a pathetic and serious character, occasionally tinged with gloom, might be selected from these volumes, which prove that the author has not lived merely on the surface of existence. His Essay on the Death of Friends may be profitably read by those who are in sympathy with the sad theme, and they will feel that he has touched the true chords. His Memoir and Essay on the Genius of Shakspeare, we regard as equal to that of De Quincey on the same subject, and that is high praise.

Village Life in Egypt, with Sketches of the Said. By BAYLE ST. JOHN, Author of "Two Years in a Levantine Family." Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 216, 218.

MR. ST. JOHN had occasion to reside for several years in Alexandria, as the correspondent of a London newspaper, and to obtain the benefit of that peculiarly even climate. Instead of keeping amongst his countrymen at a hotel, as Englishmen commonly do, he placed himself in a Levantine family, where nothing

but Arabic was spoken, and where the customs of the better class of natives were faithfully observed. In this natural way, and by an entire mastery of the language, he obtained an insight into Egyptian life to which hardly any other traveller can pretend. With this immense advantage over common writers upon "the East," and a strong sympathy for the oppressed Fellahs, Mr. St. John mingles no little Yankee shrewdness, and a general freedom from prejudice, except in regard to hieroglyphical interpretation; so that his books are the best in present circulation whence we may obtain a spirited sketch of this most interesting country, its monuments, its agriculture, its government, above all, of its perishing common people. An ordinary journey up and down the Nile will not furnish so accurate, reliable, and extensive knowledge as this transcript of the "Village Life of Egypt." We have found none of those gross errors which disfigure other publications on the same subject, like the "Pilgrimage in Egypt," by Dr. Smith; and none of the author's information is picked up at second hand, from ignorant dragomans or hotel people, whose amusement it is to impose upon travellers.

Historical Collections of Louisiana, by B. F. French. Vol. IV. *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, by* John Gilmary Shea. New York: Redfield. 1852. 8vo. pp. 348.

Mr. Benjamin F. French is known to students of American history as the author of a series of volumes containing valuable materials for the history of Louisiana, a name which in its earliest acceptation embraced the greater part of the Mississippi Valley. These documents consist of translations of manuscripts or of rare printed works, inaccessible to general readers; and the value of the whole is very much increased by the notes and illustrations of the editor, who has given himself to the work with great zeal and a most liberal spirit. The volume before us is the fourth of Mr. French's series, and is a singularly interesting collection of the principal documents relating to the discovery of the Mississippi. The most prominent among these are the journals of Father Marquette, republished, not from the imperfect edition of Thevenot, but from the original manuscripts preserved in the Hôtel Dieu of Quebec, and afterwards transferred to the keeping of Father Martin, a Jesuit, of Montreal. On Mr. French's application, these papers were placed for publication in the hands of Mr. John Gilmary Shea, a Catholic, and, as we are informed, a member of the Society of Jesus. On him, therefore, devolved the task of preparing them for the press, a task which he has executed in an admirable manner. Besides the journals of Mar-

quette, and the fac-simile of his autograph map, Mr. Shea has embodied in the volume extended extracts from Hennepin and the rare volumes of Le Clercq, besides other papers of equal interest, which have never before seen the light. His notes and observations indicate a knowledge of his subject which could have been acquired only by years of research, and the result is a mass of documentary history as authentic as it is curious and entertaining. Additional notes, we observe, have been contributed by Mr. French.

Marquette, as every one knows, was a member of that wonderful association which, combining the greatest pliancy with the greatest force, unites the most complete subordination with the highest degree of individual energy. In his earliest manhood he devoted himself to the hard and unrequited labors of the Indian missions, and before reaching middle age he had immortalized his name and closed his earthly career. His calm courage and tempered activity seem to have been free from every touch of ambition, and his name reflects honor, not only on the order of the Jesuits, but on human nature.

The proceeds of the sales of this book are to be devoted to the construction of a monument to Marquette. Bancroft's prediction, that the people of the West would do this final honor to his memory, is not, it seems, to be verified.

The Works of John Adams, *Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, by his Grandson,* Charles Francis Adams. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1851, 1852. Vols. VI. and VII. 8vo. pp. 550, 675.

These two elegant volumes, instalments of a work which, when completed, will be one of the most valuable sources of American history, contain matter of much interest to all persons who love any thing solid and wise. We think that the publication of President Adams's Works will present to American readers of this and the following generations such an idea of his noble patriotism, of his sound good sense, and of his marked abilities, as will exalt him to a very high place among the worthies of the land. The sixth volume continues his Works on Government, the Defence of our Constitution, Discourses on Davila, a Review of Mr. Hillhouse's Propositions for amending the Constitution, and Letters having reference to all these subjects. The seventh volume is filled with a most rich collection of Letters, Messages, and Public Documents, the Correspondence of Mr.

Adams with public and distinguished men all over Christendom, illustrated and explained, wherever necessary, by the painstaking research of the editor.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1852. Vol. V. 8vo. pp. 459.

MR. BANCROFT entitles the period of Revolutionary history which he treats in this volume, "Epoch Second," and the title which he gives to its chronicle is, "How Great Britain estranged America." That title is, indeed, the appropriate designation of the series of arbitrary measures devised by the English government for irritating and exasperating her colonies on this continent. When she herself was manifestly bent upon reaping where she had not sown, and instituted those oppressive exactions to which Englishmen on any soil could not submit, she roused a spirit which, in its turn, was doubtless aggravating, if not insulting, to the mother country. Mr. Bancroft has completely mastered all the details of the issue, and his power of generalizing and grouping, his philosophical skill, and his power over language, enable him to tell the story as it ought to be told, — faithfully, thoroughly, and in a way to chain the attention of the reader. His successive volumes will extend and elevate his fame.

Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of THOMAS MOORE. Edited by the Right Honorable LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P. London: Longmans. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1852. Vols I. and II. 12mo. pp. 372, 358.

THE privilege of possessing these volumes — the first two of the eight in which the work will be comprised — at an American price, though in the London edition, is one of the fruits of the arrangement made by the Boston with the English publishers, to which we referred in our last number. The result is that we have, for a dollar and a quarter a volume, a work for which English readers pay two dollars and a half a volume. We certainly cannot object to the arrangement, and we think that the foreign publishers will find their account in it. Lord John Russell, late the Premier of Great Britain, was designated for the labor of love which he here performs, by the will of the author of the Irish Melodies and Lalla Rookh. He has discharged his office with a modesty that keeps himself in the shade. The poet left rich

materials for the work, in an autobiographical sketch, a journal, and abundant letters. These the editor has published, with such incidental illustrations as they need. He introduces them with a very brief sketch of the poet's life and character, and a generous criticism of his genius, giving him high praise for his affectionate nature and for the fidelity of his friendship. The editor does not choose to enter into any defence or palliation of those productions of the poet which have sullied the purity of his fame. The volumes give us some delightful gossipy reading and occasional matters of much higher interest.

Woman's Record; or Sketches of all Distinguished Women, from "The Beginning" till A. D. 1850. *Arranged in Four Eras. With Selections from Female Writers of every Age.* By SARAH JOSEPHA HALE. Illustrated by Two Hundred and Thirty Portraits, engraved on Wood, by Lossing and Barritt. New YORK: Harper & Brothers. 1853. Royal 8vo. pp. 904.

THIS is a book which we must *notice* without having read it; therefore we must, in candor, say nothing but what is kindly of it. To that rule we confine ourselves, with the simple qualification of affirming that the word *all* had better not be retained in the title; first, because in the nature of things it cannot be verified, and second, because we have looked through the book for the names of some "distinguished women," and have not found them. The volume will be a perfect armory of weapons, or rather of arguments, for those who are interested in "the woman question," and a cursory examination of it has reminded us that its arguments may be turned to both sides of the great issue now pending among philanthropists. If the size and the crowded contents of the volume do not frighten a reader, and they ought not to do so in these days, it will afford amusement, pleasure, instruction, and many wise and holy counsels. It traverses the whole history of the world. It deals with some of the noblest characters of our race. It exhibits research in its structure, and the high reputation of the authoress gives assurance of the fidelity with which she has performed her enormous undertaking.

Memoir of MARY L. WARE, *Wife of Henry Ware, Jr.* By EDWARD B. HALL. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 12mo. pp. 434.

WE took up this book with high expectations, and they have been more than answered. It lays before us the outward history,

and with it the inward life, of as pure, as devout, as disinterested, and as perfect a woman as it has ever been our privilege to know. There was a great deal of variety in her external condition, though it all fell within the sphere which the most fastidious in such matters will recognize as appropriate to her sex. But that which gives value to the Memoir is the spirit in which she met every new exigency as it came up, and the quiet power, whether of action or endurance, with which she went through all the changes and trying emergencies of a changing and eventful life. Mrs. Ware had very decided religious opinions, which she valued beyond all price. But she was eminently practical and devout. She lived in those religious thoughts, affections, and devotions which lie too deep to be disturbed by theological doubts or discussions, and in those beneficent acts which outrun all theological distinctions, and commend themselves alike to Christians of every name. There are in her life passages of exquisite beauty and pathos. No one ever enjoyed more. Her love of nature would have been a passion had not her love of duty been still stronger. There is no exhibition of intellectual strength, but she is always equal to the occasion, and this, considering the wide range of her experience, is as strong evidence as can be given of a superior mind. Scattered along on the pages of this volume will be found words of wisdom adapted to almost every situation, and, though uttered in the confidence of private friendship or with reference only to particular cases, they will be found to constitute as complete and as valuable a treatise on female culture and female duties, in their most extended sphere, as can be found in any work on the subject, while the beauty of her example throws its warm radiance over her modest and unpretending precepts. As a daughter, as a single woman left alone in the world, as a wife and mother, as at the head of a parish, or an influential member of a refined and intellectual society, attending to all its varied duties, as the centre of a generous and enlarged hospitality, as a widow with seven fatherless children looking up to her, when with failing health she was thrown back upon her own resources, with all a woman's feeling of loneliness and weakness, as a Christian everywhere, with a faith that never faltered, and a benevolence that never grew weary, she was, beyond all the women whom we have known, the one whom we should rejoice to hold up as a model to her sex. And we rejoice that her life is here given in so unexceptionable and so attractive a form. Her words and her deeds can have power only for good. To have lived near her, in the daily interchange of kind wishes and kind acts, down to the last day of her life, was one of the richest privileges that we have known. We can well understand the feelings in that obscure English hamlet, to which she had come as an angel from heaven to watch and

labor and pray with sufferers, during the prevalence of a terrible disease, where they used to speak of her as "the good lady," and look upon her as "a superior being," and where, when she took her leave of them, "the whole village, young and old, came out in a body, and escorted her on her way."

Dr. Hall has done his part of the work well, and those who knew and loved Mrs. Ware will thankfully receive it as a true portrait. The account of her early years may be too minute, and, being the least interesting part of the book, may deter indifferent and careless readers from going farther. Perhaps the fastidiousness shown in the suppression of names is excessive. But we have no heart to criticize a work which we have read with such interest and satisfaction.

Narrative and Miscellaneous Papers. By Thomas De Quincey. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 280, 302.

We have now nine volumes of the writings of this eminent and scholarly author. Those who appreciate his works must feel indebted to the Boston publishers, who have been at the pains to gather them together from the reviews, magazines, and other repositories, through which for a long series of years they have been distributed. We have spoken in high praise of the literary value of the previous volumes, and we have now to add, that there are papers in these which we have read with new admiration of the genius of the author. His learning is used to illustrate the highest themes of truth, whether in nature, in experience, or in the philosophy of the human heart, in which last science he has a skill of his own.

The First Epistle of John, practically explained. By Dr. Augustus Neander. *Translated from the German by* Mrs. H. C. Conant. New York: Lewis Colby. 1852. 16mo. pp. 319.

A fine vein of Christian sentiment, qualified by the merest shadow and semblance of orthodoxy, runs through this work of Neander. If we should find any fault with it, it would be on the score of its diffusiveness and repetition. There is hardly enough of thought, or logical truth, or intellectual force in it, to fill out its sometimes slightly wearisome dilation upon a few sentiments. Still, the author has caught the spirit of the Master, and we thank the accomplished translator for having so faithfully and beautifully rendered his work into English.

My Life and Acts in Hungary in the Years 1848 *and* 1849. By Arthur Görgei. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 616.

We have not a sufficiently extensive or accurate knowledge of the perplexed story of the Hungarian Revolution, to qualify us for the criticism of this volume. Its publication has been looked to with interest, because of the attempts to suppress it, and on account of the prominent position of the writer and the vexed issue between him and Kossuth. We announce the book, that our readers may avail themselves of the information and the interest which it may impart.

Speeches on the Legislative Independence of Ireland. With Introductory Notes. By Thomas Francis Meagher. New York: Redfield. 1853. 12mo. pp. 317.

This book will be valued in our community, rather for the facts which it directly or indirectly relates concerning the actual social condition of the Irish, than for the inflammatory rhetoric of the agitation arising from that condition. There are burning words used for the statement of appalling and saddening truths. The speeches of Meagher furnish some admirable specimens of an exciting oratory.

Cornelius Nepos, with Notes, Historical and Explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 396.

As usual, the editor gives twice as much space to "Notes," as is covered by the text which he illustrates. He will always receive for this form of generosity the thanks of pupils who use his manuals. We are expecting to hear from New York of the dedication of an edifice to be called the "Anthon Library"; for if the learned and laborious editor continues to produce his volumes with the rapidity and the facility which have recently distinguished his name, a building will be requisite to contain his works.

Elements of Geology. By Alonzo Gray, A. M., and C. B. Adams, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 354.

These two gentlemen have a high reputation, and by their united labors they have presented Geology in a simple and intelligible way, imparting, too, all the information upon the subject which most persons, pupils or common searchers after truth, will care to possess.

The Trinity, in its Theological, Scientific, and Practical Aspects, analyzed and illustrated. By Dr. M. Edgeworth Lazarus. New York: Fowlers & Wells. 1851. 8vo. pp. 67 and 50.

A heterogeneous and extremely strange work. Its lack of originality and of practical value should have prevented its publication. We sympathize with the author in most of his aspirations, but abhor his style, which is compacted with the perfections of all literary faults.

The Standard Speaker for Schools, Academies, and Colleges. By Epes Sargent. 8vo. pp. 558. — *Selections in Poetry for Exercises at School and at Home.* Edited by Epes Sargent. 12mo. pp. 336. — Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 1852.

These works have been prepared with great care and skill. A discriminating taste, a thorough familiarity with the subjects, together with high literary qualifications of every kind in the editor, have combined to make the volumes all that could be desired for their respective purposes. We most cordially commend them.

Several new books of more or less value and interest have recently been issued, which demand of us a passing notice. Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have stereotyped that admirable work, "The Eclipse of Faith." A large edition of it which they had issued was soon exhausted, and the book, having won favor among all religious denominations, may be considered as sure of a very wide and permanent circulation. The publishers have in press a volume of "Miscellanies" by the same author.— The same firm have reprinted, as announced in our last number, the striking little book called "Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling." From several persons who have read it, we have received confirmations of our own opinion of it, as a work aside from the common track, and eminently suggestive in its contents. — A volume on Hebrew Lyrical History, by Thomas Bulfinch, is published by the same firm. We had prepared a notice of it, but it is crowded out from this number.

The almost absorbing theme among us recently has been the death of Daniel Webster. Every thing relating to the character and the career of the eminent statesman is sought with avidity. The Messrs. Appleton, of New York, have issued, in two volumes of their admirable Popular Library, an authentic sketch of his life, with most interesting memorials of him. These are pre-

pared by Gen. S. P. Lyman, whose intimate relations with Mr. Webster have eminently qualified him for the work he has undertaken. The volumes are worthy of wide circulation, and will enchain the attention of the reader. — We may mention here, that three pleasant volumes from the pen of Mr. Thackeray have recently been reproduced in this Popular Library, entitled respectively, "A Shabby Genteel Story," "Confessions of Fitz-Boodle," and "Men's Wives," the last being, as we think, by far the best. The presence of the author on this side of the sea, and the interest which has been exhibited in his lectures, will extend the circle of his readers. — A second series of "Essays from the London Times," filled with fresh and racy matter, forms yet another volume of the "Popular Library."

The Messrs. Harper, of New York, have published "The Private Life of Daniel Webster," by Charles Lanman. The writer, as the private secretary and intimate companion of Mr. Webster, has availed himself of his opportunities in those relations to impart much delightful information, without trespassing upon an improper use of confidence or familiarity.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have published "Philip Doddridge, his Life and Labors. A Centenary Memorial. By John Stoughton. With an Introductory Chapter by James G. Miall." As the title implies, this is a commemorative sketch, designed as a grateful tribute to one of the most devoted and excellent of the non-conformist divines of England. He was worthy for whom this service is done.

"The World's Laconics; or the Best Thoughts of the Best Authors. By Everard Berkeley. In Prose and Poetry. With an Introduction by William B. Sprague, D. D.," — is the title of an instructive volume, crowded with wise and beautiful counsels and thoughts. Published by M. W. Dodd, of New York.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, of Boston, have published a most agreeable volume of "English Tales and Sketches," by Mrs. Newton Crossland. This esteemed authoress may be known to some of our readers by her "Lydia, a Woman's Book."

The fruitful press of Redfield, of New York, is ever busy on works of amusement or information. Three of his recent publications, which will find admirers in different circles, are, "The Chevaliers of France, from the Crusaders to the Marechals of Louis XIV.," by Henry William Herbert; "The Children of Light, a Theme for the Time," by Caroline Chesebro'; and "Cap Sheaf, a Fresh Bundle," by Lewis Myrtle.

C. S. Francis & Co., of New York, have published a most attractive-looking volume, entitled "The Canadian Crusoes." The fact that a younger reader has for the present monopolized the

volume, prevents our being able to pronounce upon the merits of the volume from a perusal of it, though the fact gives an indirect testimony in behalf of the book from one of that class of humanity for which it is designed.

Of other books for the young, we would mention "Aunt Effie's Rhymes for Little Children," and "The Doll and her Friends," both published by Ticknor, Reed, & Fields; and "The Pretty Plate," published by Redfield.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The North British Review on the Inspiration of the Bible. — The North British Review takes a rank second to neither of the great quarterly reviews which are now the exponents of the highest literary, scientific, philosophical, and theological talent in Great Britain. Nominally, the theology of the North British is Calvinistic; but even those articles in which we should expect to find the strongest tokens of that element are characterized by a freedom from it, not to say by an inconsistency with it, which often surprises us. If we were necessarily restricted to the perusal of but one of the quarterlies, we should surely choose the North British; for there is a breadth of view, a vigor, and a generosity of spirit in its greatest articles, which, taken in connection with the influence of a profoundly religious aim and tone, make its essays eminently healthful to mind and heart.

In the number of this Review for November, 1852, we find a most able and a very opportune article on the "Infallibility of the Bible and Recent Theories of Inspiration." As a whole, the piece is deserving of the highest praise for the thoroughness and good sense of its own argument, and for the candor with which it states, and the unevasive way in which it disposes of some theories which it pronounces untenable. The writer, certainly, has a difficult task in hand, were it confined to a mere statement of the antagonistic theories, with their various shadings and qualifications, which have been proposed on the subject here discussed. He, however, works his way on through large generalizations, when they are possible, and with an occasional dealing with particulars, when that is essential to his design. He begins with stating three propositions, which, as he asserts, sum up the orthodoxy of the fathers, amid many minor diversities and modifications on the subject of our sacred books: — *First*, that they embody a Divine Revelation; *secondly*, that they exhaust that Revelation; and, *thirdly*, that they contain it in a form of absolute purity. To the truth of these three propositions the writer glories in giving in his cordial adherence, as unimpaired by any attacks recently made upon them or left undefended by any indecisiveness in the replies given by believers in them to the objections of those who have impugned them. But he wisely suggests, that

mere assertion on such an issue will not now avail. We have no *personal inspiration* by which we can assure ourselves, and still less by which we can convince a doubter, of the infallibility of the Bible. The study of all sides of the question is requisite. The writer aims to present a birdseye view of the subject. He begins by excluding from the field on which the contest is to be tried that class of modern sceptical writers who come into one side of it under false pretences; who deceive us by using the word *inspiration* as equivalent to *elevated genius*, and who thus appear to be testing the authority of the Bible, while they have already prejudged against it. He urges several complaints against these writers. First, they profess to weigh the alleged evidence of revelation *as a supernatural system embodied in writings*, while they have previously made up their minds that *no* amount or weight or kind of evidence can establish *any* miracle or supernatural communication. Secondly, by an obstinate misreading of the contents of the Bible, they suppress and turn the other way all the internal evidence which the Bible offers of its own inspiration. And, once more, they treat the positive external evidence of the Bible in an unauthorized and arbitrary manner. These three complaints against the "critical" school are, as we think, sustained with much cogency; while the misleading, fluctuating, and inconsistent course of those against whom they are urged is well exposed. Mr. Newman and Mr. Greg are especially chargeable with an abuse of language, with a confusion of ideas, and with the strangest inconsistency of sentiments. Alternate pages of their writings contain the loftiest expressions of reverence and admiration for Scripture, and assertions utterly destructive of any confidence which could be reposed in it. Mr. Newman says, that "Judea was a well-spring of religious wisdom to a world besotted by frivolous or impure fancies"; and yet he affirms that its sacred books are only lies, or forged oracles. This is a strange "combination of kissing and smiting under the fifth rib." Mr. Greg, after impugning in many places the originality, the intelligence, the wisdom, the credibility, and the sanity of Jesus, gravely assures us, in other passages of his "Creed of Christendom," that Jesus was "the wisest, purest, noblest being that ever clothed thought in the poor language of humanity"; and that he was "the most exalted religious genius whom God ever sent upon the earth, — in himself an embodied revelation." If ever the moral of the old Hebrew oracle of the confusion of tongues at Babel, incident upon an attempted union in a plotting of men against God, has had an evident illustration in later experience, the discordancy of the "critical school" is a most striking instance of it.

The writer then passes to the ranks of the "Supernaturalists," by whom alone, as he justly affirms, theories of "inspiration" can with any propriety of speech be entertained. There is a common ground between them, but on the borders of it we find two theories recognized; one is that of a *partial* inspiration, the other is that of a *plenary* inspiration. Schleiermacher and Coleridge are taken as the most influential reasoners on the former theory. The somewhat mystical and inconsistent view of Schleiermacher is fairly presented, and the palpable weaknesses of it are kindly exposed. The school which he formed, embracing such men as Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Twesten, and Tholuck, with Neander at the head of it, while admitting the fundamental principles of

Schleiermacher, modified them to such an extent in their application, as essentially to vary the rules of criticism on which they proceed. The modifications of the theory of *partial* inspiration are fairly stated by the Reviewer, and he candidly presents the strength of the position assumed by the more distinguished advocates of it. But we do not think that he succeeds in invalidating the general grounds on which that theory, under some of the modifications already announced, or possibly under some yet to be defined, may be sustained. He does not go into an argument in this article for the defence of his own theory of *plenary* inspiration. He does not even make as full a statement of it as we should be glad to have from him; but contents himself, for the most part, with that indirect assurance which it wins from his having crippled, as he thinks, every support of the alternative theory. He makes the INFALLIBILITY of the Bible the capital article of his faith. The specific abatements which he seems inclined to grant are such as may be ascribed to "the necessary brevity of narration, the occupation of different points of view, the neglect of chronological details." But with an inconsistency for which we were not prepared in such a writer, he adds to the mention of the foregoing this suggestion: "And many other circumstances may surely be supposed to have given a discordant aspect to some parts of Scripture from the beginning. Nor is it an evasion, but a perfectly honorable solution, to ascribe some considerable portion of the alleged phenomena [those which are thought to indicate a *partial* inspiration] to accidents of transcription." Now we regret to have to say, that there is something in these two sentences which does look like an "evasion." There is a looseness in that clause, "many other circumstances"; and "accidents of transcription" will cover a great deal of controverted matter. The question between the advocates of the two leading theories of inspiration is not, as we take it, whether, when the pages of the Bible came from the pens of the writers, the pages were *infallible*; but whether *the Bible as we now have it* is *infallible*. If the Reviewer is to be allowed to stretch the compass of the conditional causes of seeming defects to any length and breadth which he may please, he may be able to embrace within them, and so to explain by them, all those phenomena which his opponents think they are accounting for at least as honestly by referring them to an incomplete inspiration. We certainly will not condemn the Reviewer because, as he affirms, want of space compels him to stop without a full exposition of the points which he ought chiefly to have elaborated. We hope that he will resume his theme, if only to define the limits within which he will allow the causes of apparent imperfection in the Bible, or the signs of unassisted, and therefore fallible, human agency, to have wrought. This is a question vital to his own theory, for, as he leaves the matter, he yields the ground on which we are wont to allow that every statement in our Bible is not infallible. We have, for instance, three accounts of St. Paul's conversion in the Book of Acts. In one of these it is distinctly asserted, that those who were with him "heard the voice" that spoke to him; in another of the accounts it is as distinctly asserted that they did not hear it. Is there an error of *transcription* here? The discrepancy is not of the slightest consequence, as bearing upon Christian faith and duty. But still it is a discrepancy, and is to be accounted for. Our Reviewer has his way, or rather his ways, of accounting for all the imperfections of the written word, from Genesis to Revelation, in consistency with

his belief in the *plenary* inspiration. We apprehend that there are many persons who profess to believe only in a *partial* inspiration, as defined by him, that will be ready to adopt his theory, if he will give them the privilege to apply, according as they may judge necessary, the principles which he feels compelled to admit for his own satisfaction.

The Bible in Maynooth. — This is the title of a somewhat remarkable article in the Dublin Review for October, 1852. The Royal College of St. Patrick, at Maynooth, as most of our readers are aware, is a Roman Catholic institution in Ireland, which receives an annual pecuniary grant from the British Parliament. This public patronage, extended by a Protestant realm to an heretical seminary, is one of the anomalies of a church and state legislation. The zealots against Popery, as well as a large class of milder persons who value consistency as a principle, are in the habit of constantly agitating the question, whether government ought not to withdraw its patronage from Maynooth. The writer of the article before us is turning to some account the recent publication of an elementary Introduction to the Scriptures, by Dr. Dixon, a Professor in the College. The occasion is improved for a justification of the policy of the Roman Church in depriving her disciples of the Bible, and for the positive denial that we Protestants have any right to its possession. "We must deny to Protestantism any right to use the Bible, much more to interpret it," says the writer. Protestants "can prove neither its canon, its inspiration, nor its primary doctrines, except through that very authority which they are questioning." It would seem from this statement that the Roman Church has a monopoly of all the historic evidences and processes by which a document is authenticated, and is the only channel through which any information concerning the past can be conveyed down to the present. The writer then gives a most melancholy account of the risks which attend the free use of the Bible, and of the disastrous consequences of its popular and unguarded circulation. He seems to be wholly unaware, that precisely the same consequences may be attached to the public dissemination of the doctrines and principles of his own Church. Among Protestants, the Bible, he says, "is the schoolboy's task, the jailor's present, the drunkard's pawned pledge, the dotard's text-book, the irreverent jester's butt, the fanatic's justification for every vice, blasphemy, and profaneness which he commits. For into every one's hand it must needs be thrust, from the Chinese to the Ojibbawa, from the Laplander to the Bosjman, from the child to the dotard, from the stuttering peasant to the glib, self-righteous old dame. Now, when it is put into these hands, clean or unclean, there is no evidence given with it that it is what it is called, — the Word of God." And, we may ask, when the Romanist doctrines are offered to the same classes of persons, what evidence is given that they are either Scriptural or credible? The statutes enacted by each annual legislature of this State are, by law, distributed to each householder. If any, into whose hands they come, are unable to read them, or to understand them, or unwilling to conform themselves to them, the loss and risk are their own. But shall we therefore cease thus to publish abroad our laws? It is evident, however, that the great objection which the writer entertains to the free use of the Bible is because of its deficiencies; it does not contain what he thinks essential to faith. One who believes all that there is in it would not believe enough,

for it omits the doctrines most essential to salvation. Mark the boldness of the following assertion, which may be kept in memory, as alike one of the most frank allowances of a truth often insisted upon by Unitarians, and as a singularly daring implication that it is in the Roman Church, and not in its own statute-book, that the essentials of Divine truth are to be learned: — "As to faith, we should be almost ready to retract every word that we have written, if a well-attested case could be proved to us, of any one, left to learn religion from the Bible, having thence deduced the doctrine of the Trinity, or of one only God in three real persons; or that of the Divinity of our Lord, in its true sense, as consubstantial to the Father, as being one in person, and having two perfect natures. These are the two dogmas which the Church has considered essential to salvation, and fundamental of all revealed religion; yet we feel confident that no single person has ever discovered these for himself in the Bible, and that they are only believed by Bible Christians (where they *are* believed) in consequence of a self-deceit, or self-imposition, in fancying that they hold on Scripture evidence what in reality they only maintain because they have been so taught in church, that is, on the evidence of their clergyman." There is a marvellous frankness in this confession; but could the writer have realized all its bearings and all the inferences which follow from it?

He proceeds to argue, that the use of the Scriptures is necessarily followed by distracting, sectarian, and demoralizing effects. The Bible, he says, "has, under the judicious management of evangelical missionaries, transformed a mild and promising race, in the dominions of Queen Pomare, into a pack of lazy, immoral infidels." Now we would not attempt to offer a flat contradiction to all the points and specific proofs which enter into the argument of the writer. We are as keenly sensible as he is of the gross perversions, the poor superstitions, the ignorance, folly, bigotry, infidelity, and immorality, which may be traced, more or less directly, to the free use of the Bible. His argument is sound and good, as it exposes and bears upon the faithlessness of Protestants to their own principles, but not one whit farther. Protestants claim, and can justify the claim of private judgment in the use of Scripture. But having advanced the claim, they ought to be faithful to it; their safety depends upon their fidelity. And let it be understood, that to claim a right does not insure the right use of that right. When a man asserts his right to private judgment, he must not suppose that he thereby secures a sound, intelligent, and safe judgment. Herein lies the whole strength of the Jesuitical argument before us. Protestants have claimed the right of private judgment, but they have not exercised it; often, indeed, they have used the very *minimum* of judgment in dealing with the Scriptures, and all their errors have been consequent on this. Many have thought, that, when they had secured the liberty of reading the Bible, they had also possessed themselves of the intelligence and skill and candor and scholarship requisite for a clear and just understanding of its contents. But they have been egregiously mistaken. They might as well have looked to find that, when the Bible was opened before them, the dim-sighted would need no spectacles, and that it might be read by all without daylight or lamp-light. The *right* of private judgment implies the *exercise* of private judgment, and *judgment* is a word that means a great deal. It is hardly worth the logic of any Romanist to dispute the *right* of Protestants to apply their own noble

maxim to the Bible, on the ground that many of them fail to apply it. It would hardly do to deny the great right of personal property, because some people trifle away their money. How is it with our moral freedom, or with the independence and personal responsibility which come with the years of full manhood? These are granted to all, and if safely and judiciously improved they are blessings; but risks attend them, as risks attend the popular use of the Bible. Shall we put all men of twenty-one years of age under guardianship, lest they should not make the best use of the privileges granted to manhood? Shall we lock up the Bible, because men may not use the *judgment* which, it is asserted, is a safe interpreter of it? Shall we allow a Roman Catholic writer to argue against us as if we were so besotted as to suppose that a Bible operated like a charm, and as if we rendered null all our interest in mental and moral culture through which the Bible is to be made intelligible to us? If what we have said were not a sufficient reply to all that is just in the argument before us, we should go on to assert that, in ninety-nine cases out of each hundred in the experience of private life, the Bible does no harm; but, on the contrary, is a positive blessing, and a safe and intelligible guide even to its least cultivated readers. We shall not for one moment allow, that the excesses of fanaticism and folly, or the sharpness of sectarian strifes here and there, are any important off-set to the immense and untold sum of good which follows the use of the Bible in private life, under the guidance of common sense and a pure heart.

The article which we are criticizing concludes with the statement of three reasons, through force of which the Roman Church is justified in withholding the Scriptures from popular use. First, because "God has not given the Scriptures to all. They were not written till many generations of believers had passed away; and until the invention of printing, it was impossible that more than a very few persons could enjoy them." To this it may be answered, that after the Bible was completed, it became the standard, the criterion, the arbiter, or the trial-test for all the institutions and doctrines which were professedly warranted by it or drawn from it. So that those who claim to teach from it and by it should be willing to have it set over them. An honest executor of a will never objects that each of the heirs should have a copy of it. The second reason advanced is, that "God has not given to his Church the instinct moving her to circulate the Scriptures." This is rather an equivocal reason, for it may look to quite an opposite use to that for which it is adduced. That "the Church" lacks that *instinct*, may be one token that she is not what she assumes to be. The third reason is, that the fruits which have followed from the Protestant distribution of the Scriptures have not been such as to invite an imitation of that example, — a plea which brings us back to the former argument.

We are not of those who make an idol of the mere letter of the Bible. We would commend its perusal to all who will exercise their best gifts, and will humbly rely upon needful helps, as they do in other matters when their own resources fail them. We admit its easy liability to misuse. Still we think the zeal of all good Christians may be more profitably spent upon clearing its perplexities and extending the power of its lessons, than in burying it or in perverting it.

President Sparks and Lord Mahon. — We referred some months

since to the wholly unwarranted aspersions which Lord Mahon, following some anonymous newspaper-writers, had cast upon the editorial fidelity of President Sparks in his great work, entitled "The Writings of Washington." Lord Mahon has replied to the Letter in which, as the public voice almost unanimously declared, President Sparks had treated him with the utmost courtesy, while at the same time he thoroughly vindicated himself from the alleged unfaithfulness attributed to him by the British peer. In this reply, his Lordship retracts, and in a manner apologizes, for the grossest of the charges which he had advanced in the Appendix to his History, but he reiterates some of his minor charges, and offers specifications in proof of them. Had he consulted his own reputation for true courtesy, or for the qualities most valued and always to be looked for in one whose office is that of an historian, and who assumes to pronounce upon the labors of others, he would have stopped short with his apology. But he chose to renew his attack. He now accuses President Sparks of having been *unconsciously* influenced by two *motives*, which have interfered with his editorial fidelity. How a man can be *unconscious* of his *motives* is a question which we must give over to the transcendentalists. But if there be an intelligible sense in which such inconsistent states of mind can be connected together, — a sense unknown to us, — we may well say that the motives which Lord Mahon ascribes to the editor of Washington's Writings are of such a nature, that one who yielded to them could not possibly be *unconscious* of them; while the yielding to them in a way so marked as to have fulfilled their alleged purposes, and to fix the attention of so superficial an observer as Lord Mahon, would have required a full *consciousness* that documents must be constantly trifled with. The motives imputed are, to ascribe to Washington more stiffness of dignity than he possessed; and to conceal, for the sake of a local partiality, some of his severity of speech concerning New England. How admirably and thoroughly, as well as with what dignity and self-respect, President Sparks has repelled these charges, we recommend to our readers to inform themselves by perusing his second Letter to Lord Mahon.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Autumnal Unitarian Convention at Baltimore. — The annual gathering of ministers of our denomination, with delegates and volunteer representatives of our churches, is one of the occasions to which many persons are now wont to look forward with interest as the autumn comes with its bracing air. Though no intelligent person, who is acquainted with the spirit and the principles that distinguish our household of faith, expects that our conventions will result in quickening our merely sectarian zeal, or indeed in any striking demonstration of any kind, we are all concerned to feel that the time and travel and excitement and hospitality, and the show of purpose which they occupy and engage, are not wasted. Some effect they must have, for they cannot be merely nugatory. They either do harm, or they do good. And we are inclined to think, that, setting aside the question as to their general or public influence, as one the discussion of which would carry us too far, the question as to whether they injure or benefit any individual who takes

a part in them depends for its decision more upon himself, upon the frame of his own mind and the current of his sympathies, than upon any other contingencies. We certainly have ministers and laymen who say that they get no good from a convention. We can appreciate the reasons of this conviction, whether they are stated or not expressed. The draught which an attendance upon a religious convention makes upon the time of men who are busily tasked, the excitement connected with indefinite expectation, the unsatisfactoriness of a random debate, and the risk of an unprofitable one, with a sort of vague persuasion that no great good can come from an effort in which no specific purpose is had in view, — these are reasons by force of which many are deterred from going to such a gathering, while they likewise account for the little profit which some who do attend profess to derive from them. But on the other hand, if we were concerned to offer an argument in behalf of our conventions, — which we are not, preferring to leave them to their own unaided attractions, — we think we could both meet the force of the objections just stated, and add many strong reasons why our conventions must do good of some kind, and to some body. It is enough, however, to say, that as they are repeated from year to year, and have not lost their spirit, nor failed to be marked by some pleasing and encouraging tokens, they so far vindicate themselves.

In the Convention which was held at Baltimore, on the 26th, the 27th, and the 28th days of October last, there were memories and associations connected with the place of meeting sufficient in themselves to promote a religious effect. The temple of our faith in that city is the most perfect architectural structure on this continent, with the serious abatement, however, that the loftiness of its dome causes a loss of sound, so that only those who sit in the most favorable seats can hear distinctly the words of a speaker. But the edifice has a history, marked in its beginning by an event of signal importance in our denominational annals, and honorably illustrated by the faithful labors of men held in high regard among us. It was at the dedication of that church that the Rev. Dr. Channing preached, in 1819, the powerful and effective sermon which, while it stated our distinguishing views with, as we think, such an unanswerable force of argument, raised the storm of controversy that had been long impending. Those who heard the eloquent and most impressive speech made at the collation at Baltimore by the Rev. Dr. Gannett, the colleague and successor of Dr. Channing, will remember with what fervor and beauty of expression he reviewed the consequences following the delivery of that sermon, and remarked upon the labors of the distinguished men who had taught from the pulpit then consecrated. It was worth the journey to Baltimore to listen to that speech. There was present, too, at this Convention, as a delegate from Dr. Gannett's church, Deacon Samuel Greele, who went with Dr. Channing in the same capacity to the dedication of the church. In a pleasant and interesting train of reminiscences, he called back the occasion, and gave us a vivid idea of a time that seems to have long passed. What an advance has been made in the liberalizing and purifying of the creed of professed Christians in our communities since that time! We venture, without fear of contradiction, to assert in the plainest terms, that there are now some most popular and most approved ministers of the so-called Orthodox communion, who every Sabbath preach in a strain more liberal and un-Calvinistic on some points,

than did most of the Unitarian ministers at the time of the outbreak of the controversy. The assertion may be, and doubtless will be, denied; but he who shall undertake to prove to us that it is false, has a task in view which he had better estimate very carefully before he undertakes it.

The exercises which occupied the Convention during the three days of its session were morning meetings for conference and prayer, discussions, three occasions of public worship, and the administration of the Lord's Supper. The prayer-meetings were well attended, and their devotional influences were sought for, as tending to the best improvement of the other exercises of the Convention. The debates, as usual, took a wide range. The Business Committee furnished a list of subjects so large in their compass, as to admit of the introduction by the speakers of any topic which related to our denominational views, prospects, or duties. The relation held by our body to the other Christian communions was candidly discussed under the leading statement, that, as we differed from them in those peculiarities which designated some addition made by them to the essentials of Christian faith, and accorded with each and all of them in matters vital to the Gospel, our points of union and harmony are more important in every point of view than are our differences. Of course, so vague and loose a statement as this was admirably suited to start a debate, and the truth of it was conceded, without any oracular decision, to depend upon the contingency as to which party should be allowed the privilege of defining what are the *essentials* of Christian faith. As has been observed on a previous page of this number of our journal, there was a discussion in the Convention of the lack of, and of the best means of promoting, an earnest church life in our congregations. Wise words and quickening appeals were uttered, and were left to do their work without being compressed into resolutions, or committed to the doubtful agency of any specific measures.

At the three occasions of public worship, discourses were preached before the Convention as follows: on the evening of October 26th, by the Rev. Dr. Dewey of Washington, D. C., upon Religion, as a Fact, a Truth, and an Institution; on the afternoon of the 27th, by the Rev. George E. Ellis of Charlestown, on the Evangelical and the Philosophical Spirit in Religion; and on the evening of the 28th, by the Rev. Dr. Young of Boston, on the Ministry of Christ in taking away the Sin of Men. After this last service, and as the closing exercise of the Convention, the Lord's Supper was administered; the Rev. Samuel Osgood of New York, and the Rev. C. T. Thayer of Beverly, officiating at the table. Three days were thus profitably spent in religious interests which looked beyond any merely sectarian ends.

A social gathering, under one or another of the many agreeable forms for which the hospitality of friends where the Convention assembles may have a preference, always constitutes one of the pleasantest incidents of such an occasion. This was enjoyed at Baltimore under the most delightful circumstances. A new and spacious assembly-room, with all the conveniences for the comfort of a large company, and bountifully spread tables, with a hearty welcome from the president of the feast, were the outward solicitations which, united with fraternal and religious sympathies, were sure to impart the highest enjoyment. Several excellent speeches were made after the repast.

We cannot omit from our brief account of the Convention at Balti-

more, a passing notice of the constancy and the generosity which our brethren of that society have exhibited in the support of their great cause. Through intervals of discouragement, they have never failed in hopefulness or zeal or perseverance. We were especially pleased to see so large a number of our ministers present there, if only as a fraternal tribute to Dr. Burnap, who has so long labored at Baltimore with such distinguished devotion to his work.

A melancholy impression attaches to our otherwise most delightful memories of the Convention at Baltimore, from the bereavement which, so soon after its close, our body was called to sustain, in the loss of the Rev. Dr. Parkman. He was chosen as the Moderator of the Convention. Under the weight of a depression of spirits to which for several years he had been occasionally liable, he thought that he should be unequal to its duties, and attempted to decline them, though he consented to comply with the wishes of his brethren. He presided with much of his usual felicity of manner, and gave us, for the last time, the sympathy and pleasure of his services, as he had always loved to do in any way in which he could promote the happiness and advance the good of his brethren. His prayer at the opening of the pleasant social scene at the collation was touchingly expressed, and showed that the communication between his spirit and Him who heareth prayer was open to the utterances of a trusting and suppliant heart. We sorrow that we shall no more meet his friendly look, and that we shall no more enjoy on earth his genial presence. Our brethren at Baltimore must cherish as among the religious influences of their recent assembling of friends, that it was the last public scene on which our esteemed brother was to appear before our eyes.

Installation. — The Rev. Edmund Squire, recently from England, was installed as Pastor of the Second Hawes Congregational Society at South Boston, on December 1st. Introductory Prayer by the Rev. Lemuel Capen of South Boston; Selections from Scripture by the Rev. N. Hall of Dorchester; Sermon by the Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Ordaining Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop of Boston; Charge by the Rev. C. Lincoln; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge of Boston; Address to the Society by the Rev. John Cordner of Montreal; Concluding Prayer by the Rev. S. B. Cruft of Boston.

Ordination. — Mr. Courtland Y. De Normandie, a graduate of the Meadville Theological School, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Society in Brooklyn, Conn., on December 1st. Introductory Prayer by the Rev. Henry Coe of Daryville, Conn.; Selections from Scripture by the Rev. D. E. Milland of Fall River; Sermon and Ordaining Prayer by the Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston; Charge by the Rev. T. W. Higginson of Worcester; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. J. Orrill of Providence, R. I.; Address to the Church and Society by the Rev. George G. Channing of Milton.

OBITUARIES.

Rev. Joseph Harrington died in San Francisco, California, Nov. 9, 1852, aged 39. The intelligence of this event has produced a profound

impression of grief throughout a large circle in New England and in the West. Mr. Harrington was one of the men that we know not how to spare. We can only bow in faith and submission to the decree which is mysterious and inscrutable. He has died with his armor on, in the prime of his years, just entering an admirable field of Christian service, full of energy and hope, and with the fairest prospects of success and usefulness.

He was a native of Roxbury, Mass., and was graduated at Harvard University in 1833. On leaving college he took charge of one of the grammar schools in Boston, and continued in it for several years with distinguished success. In the mean time, he privately pursued the study of theology, and was ordained in Boston in September, 1840, as an evangelist, and immediately proceeded to Chicago to assume a pastoral charge to which he had been invited in that city. He remained there five years, doing indeed the work of an evangelist. In April, 1846, he was installed as minister of the Church of the Saviour, a new Unitarian Church in Hartford, Conn. He continued in that relation, faithful, honored, and beloved, till the summer of the present year, when, having been selected as the best man that could be found to build up the Unitarian church in San Francisco, he considered it his duty to accept that distant and arduous mission. He had arrived at his new post, and believed that he saw his life's work before him. And so he did, but how brief! He preached a few times to a large and deeply interested congregation, and then sickened and died.

Mr. Harrington was a valuable man. He had done much good, and there was in him the promise of a great deal more. His mind was well endowed, and had been highly cultivated. Untiring industry and unswerving fidelity were virtues that he carried into every station. Energy and perseverance were a part of his nature. In the pulpit he had, in a high degree, some of the gifts of the true orator. His outward life and conversation had been blameless from his childhood up. Conscientious and upright, no man had aught against him, and his courtesy and kindness won him friends everywhere. With vivid religious sensibilities, and a firm, experimental, Christian faith, he loved his profession with all his heart, and labored in it with all his strength. Attached to his New England home by warm affections that had made him always a devoted son and brother, he had yet that earnestness of purpose, that zeal for Christian service, and that spirit of Christian enterprise, which enabled him to break away from so many whom he loved, and who loved him so well, and with faith and good cheer to seek his home on the opposite side of the continent. He seemed signally fitted for that new and peculiar sphere. The happiest results were expected from his ministry there; but he was permitted to continue it only long enough to earn an honored grave, and make his new people sincere mourners for him. Many fond and high hopes, associated there and here with him and his prospective labors, have been abruptly and sadly cut off. Sorrowfully, reluctantly, do we give him up so soon, but — God's will be done!

Died, in Boston, November 12, Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D., aged 65. Dr. Parkman, the son of an eminent Boston merchant, was born June 4, 1788, and was graduated at Cambridge in 1807. He commenced and pursued his theological studies for a time with the late

Dr. Channing, but completed them at the University of Edinburgh. On returning to this country, he was settled, in 1813, over the New North Church in Boston, of which he was the sole minister during twenty-nine years. At the close of this long period of faithful and laborious service, Rev. A. Smith was associated with him as colleague, in connection with whom he occupied the place of Senior Pastor till January 28, 1849, when he resigned his charge.

From the beginning of his professional life, Dr. Parkman filled a prominent place in that portion of the Christian Church to which he particularly belonged. As a preacher, his sermons were characterized by good sense, by their Scriptural and practical character, and by great felicity in his treatment of occasional topics. His devotional services were remarkable for their Christian fervor, their liturgical richness and simplicity, and for their singular appropriateness. His quick sympathies, his warm religious feelings, and his power of giving utterance to them through the choicest language of devotion, caused him to be constantly sought on occasions of public interest, to lead the devotional services of the assembled worshippers. In the pastoral relation he was ever diligent and faithful. His profession was the choice of his youth and the delight of his age. He loved every thing connected with it, and was profoundly interested in whatever could make it more efficient and useful.

He did not specially devote himself to any single department of scholarship, but he was a man of large and liberal culture, a lover of learning, and particularly familiar with whatever was of value in English theology. He took his full share among the early advocates of Unitarian views in this country, and did much to illustrate and defend them at a time when they were little understood and vehemently assailed.

He wrote with ease, and in a style always graceful, clear, and to the point. Numerous contributions from his pen may be found in the various Unitarian periodicals of this country, during the last thirty-five years. The Examiner has been largely indebted to him from the beginning. A great part of the biographical articles, which at the time were read with most interest, were from him. His large acquaintance with theological history and with men, his talent for perspicuous narrative, and a certain native humor, which diffused its light over all subjects where it could properly appear, qualified him in an eminent degree for this kind of writing. The only volume which he ever published was "The Offering of Sympathy," a book which has passed through repeated editions in this country and in England, and which has performed the office of a Christian comforter in many afflicted homes.

The cause of sound learning found in him a faithful friend, and his *Alma Mater* a generous and attentive son. The Parkman Professorship of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care was founded by him. He took an active part in nearly all of the most important charitable institutions of this city, in many of which, as the Massachusetts Bible Society, the Humane Society, Medical Dispensary, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen, and the Congregational Charitable Society, he for years held offices which involved a great amount of labor, and a large expenditure of time. The different Reports which he prepared and published would, if collected, fill several good-sized volumes. No man was more faithful in performing the duties of every trust which he

accepted; and it is not often that any one can be found, who will devote the same attention to objects whose only claim upon them is, that they are connected with the general welfare of the community.

Dr. Parkman's character was in some respects a marked and peculiar one. He was thoroughly honest and independent, active, social, and of unusually quick and warm sympathies. His genial and friendly nature made him seek society, and won for him a large circle of personal friends. He was a man of action, rather than speculation, and possessed the clearness and promptitude of mind and the methodical habits which in any sphere would have made him an efficient man of business. These qualities, united with much knowledge of men, with a quick sense of what was appropriate, with a conciliatory and gentlemanly bearing, and a great readiness in apprehending what the occasion demanded, caused him to be frequently selected as a presiding officer in the assemblies of his brethren. His last public act before his death was to preside over the Unitarian Autumnal Convention held at Baltimore.

Among those who best knew him, however, we think that the trait which would be first selected as most characteristic of him is kindness of heart. There was an honest sense of right about him, which enabled him, if the occasion demanded, to perform a painful act; and no one was more able, if it was necessary, to utter a severe truth; but the kindness of his nature took from the rebuke its barb, and healed the wound which itself had made. He made no proclamation of his benevolence; he could refuse unreasonable demands, and was never one who gave merely because others had given. But what was better than this, he investigated and discriminated, and where there was any real claim, his benevolence, without waiting for the action of others, was abundant and persevering, and of a kind that sought retirement, rather than publicity. His labors in behalf of different benevolent institutions were only incidental to a far more extended private charity. He not only could not bear the sight of suffering, but the work that he most delighted in was that of promoting the happiness of others. In his death many poor families, over whose fortunes he had watched, have lost their best, their wisest and most faithful friend; and the community has lost one of that small number to whom it could always look, and on whom it might with certainty rely, in every measure which gave the promise of promoting the cause of Christian truth or Christian charity.

It was, however, in his own profession that the characteristic of which we have spoken most prominently appeared. No one took a deeper interest in the young men of his profession, or greater pains to encourage them amidst their self-distrusts and misgivings, and to promote their welfare and usefulness. If any of his brethren were sick or in trouble, he seemed to be the first to know it, the first to cheer them by his presence, and to provide whatever their needs required. He had that beautiful quality of the heart which impelled him to give an unfailing and respectful attention to those with whom the world had gone hardly. How large and open was his hospitality, to friends and strangers, is well known; but, better than this, and what gave the true idea of his character, few men carried out more literally the injunction of the Gospel, — when thou makest a feast, invite not thy rich neighbors, who will make a return, but rather those who can make no return. His last sermon in this city was on a subject upon which no one had a better

right to speak, — on being kind and tender-hearted. If there was any one whom others passed by, there he inevitably stopped. He was singularly considerate of the neglected and unfortunate. One of the petitions frequent in his prayers was for those who had known better days, and with him it was a petition full of meaning. For years past, no single thing occupied his thoughts more than the relief of aged, sick, or destitute members of his own profession. He was liberal of pecuniary aid, while the manner doubled the value of the gift. He acted himself, and enlisted the sympathy of others. After his connection with a particular parish ceased, for long periods of time, nearly every Sabbath was given to those who, from sickness, need, or some other adversity, could be benefited by his friendly offices. It may be doubted if any year of his life was ever more actively, usefully, and benevolently laborious than the last; and his labors were of a kind for which there is no return of gain or fame, but only the consciousness of usefulness.

Though subject to seasons of depression, his temperament was unusually cheerful, genial, and sunshiny, and it gave its own character to his religious feelings. How strong those feelings were, was well known to those familiar with him. They colored his views of life, they controlled his notions of duty, and appeared impressively in those devotional exercises which carried with them the hearts of all who heard them.

It is pleasant to dwell on these remembrances of one who was constantly more loved and valued the more intimately he was known. Few men could leave behind so large a circle of friends; and after a long and active life, notwithstanding his frankness of speech and independence of action, we do not believe that he left behind him a single unkind memory in the heart of any human being. A countenance ever friendly has disappeared from the paths of life; we shall miss his warm greeting, his ready and active sympathy, and his labors in so many departments of Christian usefulness. The epitaph which might with truth be written over his tomb is one which any man might rejoice to have: — He will be missed by his friends; he will be missed in a home which was ever made bright by his cheerful, confiding, and thoughtful affection; he will be missed in the community, to the support of whose institutions he was so ready to contribute thought and time and money and labor; he will be missed in every charitable enterprise, which needs the help of good men; he will be missed in the families of the poor, which for him had a more potent attraction than the dwellings of the prosperous; he will be missed by strangers who enjoyed his hospitality; and still more, he will be missed by those whom the world neglects, by those unfortunate and destitute and sometimes unattractive persons whose wants he sought out in their obscurity, and whose claims were all the more sacred to him because they were the most likely to be overlooked. But above all, apart from his own kindred, he will be missed by his brethren in his own profession, among whom his reconciling, harmonizing spirit, his friendly readiness in all Christian works, his large experience, and his judicious counsels, made him a centre of regard and of good influences. But the qualities for which he will be remembered are the same qualities which, now he has gone, enable those who remain, to look up with cheerful trust to Him, whose best promises are given to those who on the earth have helped the destitute, have cared for the sick, have fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and served God by endeavoring to be useful among men.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MARCH, 1853.

Art. I. — THE ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

The Septuagint belongs to that class of monuments, which come down to us among the remnants of the Jewish literature after the conclusion of the Bible. It laid the foundation of that grand structure on which the Hellenistic philosophy was reared. In Alexandria, the new capital of Egypt, — the land in which, far more than two thousand years ago, the elements of Jewish literature were called into existence, — a new religious life began to develop itself, through the means of a translation of those ancient documents. The Alexandrian version of the Old Testament throws also some light over the same period in Palestine, and it affords an accurate view of the religious life among the Jews in Judea, of which the historians and the literature of the Jews give no account.

The Alexandrian version is a work of ancient times. Should it not help us to answer the question, How were the Scriptures understood at an epoch when the Hebrew language was nearly extinct? May we not find, through the same version, the key to some passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, which are now obscure? The assistance of the Septuagint is of importance in the in-

vestigation of the Hebrew text, and in deciding its authenticity, collection, circulation, age, punctuation, and accentuation. And not only in the literature of the Bible, but also in profane literature, the Septuagint maintains a prominent position; as it is the first work which was translated from Hebrew into Greek. The Greeks, although they refer much to their intercourse with foreign nations, never attempted to give a faithful and exact foreign production in their own language. They lacked the opportunity to make themselves acquainted with foreign tongues, and they considered foreigners as barbarians, who were not worthy of their notice. The Septuagint, in many places, is a faithful reproduction of the literal sense of the original Hebrew; and as the original is still in existence, we are thus enabled to retrace the first steps of the art of hermeneutics, and to behold it in its state of infancy.

But great as is the pleasure which the study of the Septuagint affords, we nevertheless enter upon the task of a close investigation of it with much timidity, because it is connected with numerous difficulties. Many questions arise in the mind of the inquirer concerning the age and the source of the Greek version. Can we by any possible means determine the exact time when the translation was made? Has the original translation, that is generally supposed to have been accomplished several centuries before Christ, come down to us, and what changes has it undergone during its long pilgrimage? The pompous accounts of the translation appear extremely fabulous, and the manifest desire of rendering it illustrious because it was made by command of a king, is very suspicious; and the suspicion obtains more force by the contradictory narratives of the circumstances which accompanied the translation. These have the appearance of myths, and not of facts; so that it seems that the ancients were anxious to apologize for the Septuagint, but not to give an exact and faithful account of it. The historians disagree even as to the simple question, whether the whole Bible, or only the Pentateuch, was translated at that given period. It is also said, that even before the translation of the Septuagint other versions of the Pentateuch existed. Were the translations of the Septuagint influenced by the then

existing translations? The previous translation, it is said, was made in the time of the Persian dominion. The Septuagint, consequently, cannot be considered as an original version, because the translators might have made use of a former one. Doubts are also entertained in regard to the ancient belief, that the Greek version was made at a certain ascertained date. We have no warranty at all, that even a single book from the Bible had been completely and independently translated, so that there remained no occasion for corrections from another hand in the succeeding ages. There are many reasons which are sufficiently strong to induce the belief, that the whole version is a compound of fragments of different learned scholars, which fragments were put together so as to make them appear as a whole.

But even if we should admit the truth of the ancient account of the Greek version, that it was actually made for one of the Egyptian kings, we obtain no correct idea of what the reporters of those accounts thought to convey to future generations. The accounts are so vague and uncertain, that they seem to us to convey the idea, that the reporters themselves did not know how the Greek version, commonly called the Septuagint, was accomplished and put together in its existing form.

When we collate the Greek with the original Hebrew text, we are at a loss to discover whether the same original Hebrew text which we possess was the one from which the Greek version was made, on account of the numerous deviations and discrepancies. Should we not, therefore, suppose that the Greek text in its present form has been remodelled by the hand of ignorant men of a much more recent time? The fact of existing deviations and differences between the two texts at least disposes the faithful student to investigate how the Septuagint came down to us, in whose hands it was kept, whether external circumstances exercised an influence upon it, and whether intentional corruption has impaired its previously correct shape. The solution of the question concerning the character of the Septuagint, and what use the historian of religion should make of it, can only be pronounced when the previous questions have been disposed of. This is the task of criticism which we have imposed upon ourselves. The study of the

Septuagint has engaged us for the last ten years, and we are glad of an opportunity to break silence, and to communicate to the world the thoughts which have been long maturing. We should certainly rejoice to see these questions solved by a more skilful pen; but as this has not yet been done, we approach our task with a due sense of our inability, yet with a hope of the reader's indulgence and of his just appreciation of the difficulties we had to surmount or to remove.

The ancient accounts of both Jews and Christians are to the effect, that a certain Ptolemy desired that a Greek translation should be made from the Hebrew sacred writings; but they do not prove definitely which Ptolemy it was. From the accounts given in the Talmud and in some writings of the Christian Fathers, it would appear that Ptolemy Lagos or Soter, the first of the Ptolemean dynasty, was also the originator of the Greek version (about 285 years before the birth of Christ). Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus inform us, that Ptolemy Philadelphus (about 285 to 246 years before Christ) was its originator; and others, again, attempt to prove that the translation was made in the years in which both Lagos and Philadelphus reigned together (287 – 285).* Aristeas, a Greek who lived in the court of Ptolemy, gives an account of the translation, — why it was made, by whom it was made, and under what circumstances the translation was accomplished. Demetrius Phalereus, the librarian of the king, desired, so narrates Aristeas, that the king should procure for his library a translation from the Jewish sacred books, that were there only in the Hebrew language, which translation might greatly contribute to the fame of the king and of the library. The king, at this suggestion, despatched an embassy to the then high-priest, Eleazar, who, in compliance with the king's desire, sent two-and-seventy presbyters, six from each tribe, that they should translate the Hebrew sacred books into Greek. The king received the strangers with great rejoicings and public pageantry, feasted them, and inquired of them many things, to which their answers were so correct as to give the king

* Comp. Hody de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Lib. I. cap. 6, and Lib. II. cap. 2.

the highest gratification. He esteemed and venerated the Hebrew law highly, and ordered that the translation should be made with solemnity and unction. When the translation was accomplished, it was proved to be accurate, and the king showed himself on that occasion very liberal to the translators, and to their countrymen in his dominions.

From this account, which we take from the narrative of Aristeas, it appears that he was anxious to make his narrative pleasant to the reader, to procure for the Greek version, which his king esteemed and venerated, the same veneration among the Greeks, and to make it appear as holy and distinguished as the original itself. It is also not very improbable, that the book ascribed to Aristeas, a certain Greek writer, who lived in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is, under a fictitious name, the work of an Alexandrian Jew of a more recent date, whence we might account for the fabulous tenor of the greater part of the narration, as having been written with the intention to deceive for the sake of promoting piety; in other words, the book of Aristeas might have been intended for a pious fraud. But did any actual event take place on which Aristeas, or the real individual who wrote the history of the Alexandrian version, founded the narrative? This question is generally answered by reference to the fact, that a translation was actually made in the time of the Ptolemean dynasty, and this fact is regarded as the foundation on which Aristeas based his narrative; but criticism and controversy on this subject have not decided, whether it was the king who desired to furnish his library with the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, or the anxiety of the Jews in Alexandria to have their sacred books translated into the Greek, which had become their vernacular tongue, nor whether the translation of the whole Old Testament was finished at that given period, or of the Pentateuch alone.* The hinge on which the controversy turns is the narrative which is ascribed to Aristeas; but the contending parties (except Hody) never attempted to decide the age in which the Septuagint was called into being, from the internal evi-

* Hody, Lib. II. cap. 7.

dences afforded by the Septuagint itself. If we now examine the translation itself, to obtain some light on the subject under consideration, it will appear to us that the translation was originally not made for any one of the Ptolemean dynasty. The Pentateuch even presents striking reasons to make us distrust such a presupposition.

There are many words in the Greek Pentateuch which could not have been left untranslated if the translation had been made for the king, because they are Grecized Hebrew, which was doubtless unintelligible to Ptolemy; as, γειώρας for גֵּר, or *a sojourner;* σάββατα for שַׁבָּת, or *Sabbath;* ἐσαββάτισε for וַיִּשְׁבֹּת, or *he rested;* εἶν for הִין, or *a measure;* πάσχα for פֶּסַח. Alexandrian Jews only, who made use in their daily conversation of such Hebraisms, could have been gratified with such translations; and the translators, although knowing the exact Greek words for the originals, as they frequently translated the above-mentioned words correctly, left those words untranslated, since they knew for whom they were laboring. In one place גֵּר is translated προσήλυτος, and in another one γειώρρας; שַׁבָּת, ἀνάπαυσις and σάββατα; שָׁבַת, ἐσαββάτισε and ἀνέπαυσε. In the prophetic and historical books the untranslated words are very numerous. They are Grecized Hebrew; which leads to the supposition, that the translators either did not know how to render them into Greek, or that the meaning of the substituted word was generally known among the Alexandrian Jews; but they could by no means have expected that Ptolemy would be familiar with the Jewish peculiarities. There is no doubt that they could have found the proper Greek words for those which they left untranslated, but they were so common and popular that they left them without translation.

The question might be asked, How was it, that the Jews should have needed so soon a translation of their Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek tongue, since it was only fifty years from their departure from Palestine, so that the time for acquiring the Greek language, which has no similarity with their own native dialect, was too short, and, moreover, new colonies from Palestine arrived in Alexandria in those fifty years, which colonies doubtless called forth new recollections of the old Jewish habits and language? But this would be no

objection of weight and importance against the opinion that the Septuagint was actually made for the benefit of the Jews; because Jews were settled in Egypt from the time of Alexander the Great. In the time of the first temple the mercantile relations between Palestine and Egypt were extensive, and it is not unlikely that many Jews (the Jews had always entertained desires of living in Egypt) settled there; and the Scriptures make mention of a large emigration from Palestine into Egypt immediately after the destruction of the first temple.* Those early colonists, it seems, had entirely forgotten their native tongue; they translated, therefore, their Scriptures into Greek, which became vernacular in Egypt, and for which the ancient Egyptian dialect made way, and this translation was distributed also among the newcomers.

More difficult it is to determine whether the whole Scripture was translated, or the Pentateuch alone. It is obvious that the Alexandrian version was not made after a common, premeditated plan, which had been laid down as a guide for all the translators, and that there was no revision after each translator had accomplished his work; but each worked independently, according to his own plan or fancy and habit of thinking. Even the version of the Pentateuch, which has been considered as the most successful among all the books of the Hebrew Scriptures, exhibits by no means any thing like a common, thoughtful design, by which it was accomplished. The translators of the Pentateuch render one and the same word differently in different books, and the general tenor of each book, the peculiarities and turns of the phraseology, are such as to annihilate our belief in a common plan of the Septuagint. But the question might still be put thus: Were all the books of the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek at the time when the Pentateuch was translated, by men who accomplished their task independently, and without restric-

* Compare Jeremiah, chap. xlii. and foll.; Isa xix. 18-20. Also, Aristeas, p. 11, Oxford edition. Aristeas says, that Jews fought with Psammetichus against the king of Ethiopia; *καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἑτέρων συμμαχέων ἐξαπεσταλμένων πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰθίοπων βασιλέα μάχεσθαι σὺν Ψαμμετίχῳ.*

tion, by common regulations purposely laid down for the execution of the Greek version? It is true that the historical books, the books of the prophets, and the hagiographic books, are not so well translated as the Pentateuch; but this circumstance might be accounted for by the difference of the subject and the variety of materials. When we examine the Greek version minutely, we become persuaded that the translators had no concrete knowledge of etymology; but they were frequently guided by the mere connection of the words. That the Pentateuch is better translated than the historic and prophetic writings is because these five books were from immemorial times held among the Jews as the most sacred, and as the basis on which all their literature should be founded. The study of these books was general, and the sense of the words commonly understood. The historic and prophetical writings were not so much studied or known, and therefore the translation of these books was made with less care. The Pentateuch, moreover, was either partly or entirely translated into the Syriac before the Greek translation was even thought of,* and the translators made considerable use of the Syriac version; but they had no aid in translating the other Biblical books.

The historian Josephus, and the Talmud, speak of the translation of the Pentateuch only; but this forms no objection to the general belief, that the whole Old Testament had been translated. The books which were written after the Pentateuch were not so much spread among the people as those of the Pentateuch; and as the time when the version of these books was made was not given in the translation itself, neither at its beginning nor at its end, the people regarded the time of its becoming known as the time of its publication, and considered the Pentateuch alone as the oldest translation. All these testimonials in behalf of the Greek version, however, are only external, and of no exclusive importance; the internal evidences alone can give us the natural key to the solution of the great difficulties concerning the Septuagint. It is generally believed that the Pentateuch was translated at the time of the Ptolemean dy-

* Compare Talmud, Tract Megilah, p. 3, b; and Nedarim, 37, b.

nasty. An ancient writer, however, gives us some account of a translation of the Pentateuch which existed before that of the Septuagint. The Jewish philosopher Aristobulus says: "It is obvious that Plato has followed our laws and studied their contents with great care; for even before Demetrius Phalereus (i. e. before the translation by the seventy presbyters occasioned by Demetrius), a translation was made by others, before the reign of Alexander and the Persians, which translation contained the history of the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, and the miracles that happened there, and the subduing of Canaan, and the whole explanation of the Law; so that it is obvious that the philosopher whom I mentioned above took much from it, and also that Pythagoras incorporated many doctrines from our Law with his philosophy. But the whole version of every thing which our laws contained was made under the king designated Philadelphus."* Although Aristobulus is accused of a pious fraud, in making verses which manifest religious sentiments like those found in the Scriptures, pretending to quote them from the songs of Orpheus, he, however, deserves credit in respect to his account given of a translation which was made before that of the Septuagint. But Aristobulus does not speak of a *Greek* version. He says "a translation was made," but he does not state into what language. We might suppose that it was a version into the Egyptian tongue, as Jews had lived in Egypt from after the destruction of the first temple. He makes also no mention of the "Pentateuch." He speaks only of a "translation and explanation" of various parts of the Jewish laws. He does not mention the book called Leviticus, which forms an essential part of the Pentateuch; and he speaks of the subduing of Canaan, the account of which was taken from the book of Joshua. Aristobulus, it seems, refers to a book which contained narratives from the Jewish history, with explanatory remarks and additions from other parts of the Jewish sacred writings.

But whether Aristobulus stated historical facts we cannot decide now with undoubted certainty, because we know very little of the author or of the time in which

* Eusebius, Præparatio Evangelica, Lib. XIII., cap. xii., pp. 663, 664.

he lived. There is, however, no doubt that the account* which we have from Aristobulus concerning the translation of some part of the Scriptures is based on an historical fact.

In the court of Ptolemy Philometor there lived a Jew whose name was Aristobulus. Philometor was friendly to the Jews,* and gave his permission for the dedication to him of a translation of the book of Esther.† Writers after the time of Aristobulus made use of this circumstance, and fabricated dialogues purporting to have been held by Philometor and Aristobulus in a controversy against the Greeks.

The account of a translation that existed before that of the Septuagint is based on an historical fact, which can be asserted, not only by the Targums (ancient Chaldean translations), but by the Septuagint itself, as this translation, it appears, was made up chiefly of independent translations, which had existed a long time before that of the Seventy was published. There are specimens in the Greek version which are of a much remoter date than the whole version. Many passages in the Septuagint, as we have it now, are the remnants of marginal remarks of a previous translation, which are incorporated into our version, and are now considered as an essential part of the Bible itself. The circumstances by which the translation of the Seventy was called forth admitted the embodiment into it of existing translated passages. For it was not science that required a translation of the Hebrew sacred books, but religious sentiment, which manifested itself all the more strongly after the language in which the original was written had died away. It is therefore certain that the translations of the Hebrew sacred writings were not accomplished at once; but that they were completed gradually, in the succession of many years. We, however, do not undertake to prove that the *whole* of the Septuagint consists of a compilation of various passages which had been previously translated. There are some books which manifest skill and accurate knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek, and are of a much more recent date than other parts of the Septuagint. But our pre-

* Josephus, Ant., Lib. XIII., cap. 6; and Contra Apionem, Lib. XI. § 4.
† Compare Usser de Græca, LXX. Interprett.

'vious remarks tend to prove, that, as the translation was called forth by religious sentiment, and not by science, the translation was not made of the *whole* sacred writings, but that such passages were left out as seemed to the translators to be mere repetitions; because the translators' intention was not to substitute the Greek for the original Hebrew, but to assist the Hebrew reader with some kind of translation.

Such a version — if it should be thus designated — is not only conformable to the spirit of those times, but there are many indications that the Greek version was originally intended only as an auxiliary book for the use of Alexandrian Jews. Among the books of the Pentateuch, Leviticus and Deuteronomy are more free from additions than the three remaining ones. And why so? Because Leviticus, which contains the collection of laws, and presented more difficulties to a translator than any of the remaining books in the Pentateuch, required a more exact and thorough translation. This was in a measure true of Deuteronomy. The following ages found less occasion for the correction of the Greek text of those two books. But as to the three books, Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, many passages of which had been left untranslated, the readers in the next generations had occasion to add to and to correct the Greek text; hence the deviations and discrepancies are very numerous.

Leviticus and Deuteronomy are most successfully translated, much better than Genesis, Exodus, or Numbers. This we consider as a very strong proof that these two books had been translated when the Hebrew language was better known in Alexandria, and that they were completely translated.

The incompleteness of the Septuagint led Aristobulus to his belief of other existing translations, to which, as it seems to us, Aristeas also alludes, saying: "The books of the law of the Jews are wanted [in the library]; they are written in the Hebrew language and characters, and are badly explained, as is attested by the judgment of scientific men." *

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* Τοῦ νόμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων βίβλια σὺν ἑτέροις ἀπολείπει· τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραικοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα· ἀμελέστερον δὲ καὶ οὐκ ὡς ὑπάρχει σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ εἰδότων προσαναφέρεται.

There are many passages in the Babylonish and Jerusalem Talmuds in which the version made by the Seventy Presbyters is referred to. Some deviations from the Hebrew text are also mentioned, but the Babylonish Talmud considers them as having been dictated by the "Blessed God himself."* The passage in Tract Megilah (fol. 9) runs thus:—"Our wise men have been allowed to translate the Bible into Greek. Rabbi Jehudah says, it was permitted that the law alone should be translated into Greek, and this on account of an event which once took place. For it is stated that King Ptolemy introduced two-and-seventy presbyters into two-and-seventy cells, not telling them for what purpose, and that he went into each cell separately, saying to each presbyter, 'Translate for me the law of your teacher, Moses.' The Lord put into the heart of each one of them *one* sense, and in fifteen places they varied from the Hebrew. They wrote: 1st. 'God created the beginning'; 2d. '*I* will make man in my likeness and similitude'; 3d. 'And he finished his work on the *sixth* day, and rested on the seventh day'; 4th. 'He created man and wife' (not them); 5th. '*I* will come down and confound their tongue'; 6th. 'Sarah laughed with *her friends*'; 7th. 'For in their wrath they slew the ox, and in their pleasure they broke the manger'; 8th. 'And Moses took his wife and his son and set them upon *those who carry men*'; 9th. 'And the sojourn of Israel in Egypt and *in other countries* was four hundred and thirty years'; 10th. 'And he sent the elect of the children of Israel'; 11th. 'And to the elect of the children of Israel he stretched not his hand'; 12th. 'I have not taken *one good thing* of them' (instead of 'not one ass'); 13th. 'Which God, thy God, imparted to them, to shine to all nations'; 14th. 'And he went and served other gods, which I have not bidden them to worship'; 15th. 'Of short feet' (instead of 'a hare,' an animal prohibited to the Jews). This they did to avoid the translation of it into Greek, because the name of the wife of Ptolemy had the same signification."

The Talmud, or more properly Rabbi Jehudah, it seems,

* This is a Rabbinic phrase, which is found very frequently in Rabbinic writings, to which we should attach not the least importance. The Rabbis did not think of the inspiration of the Seventy, in the sense of the Church Fathers.

was well acquainted with the ancient affairs of Alexandria; but as he speaks of the two-and-seventy separate cells, we must come to the conclusion that he has taken this information from the fabulous narrative of Aristeas.

The Jerusalem Talmud gives the same account, but enumerates only thirteen deviations from the Hebrew. Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonish Talmuds are mistaken, in stating that the name of the king's *mother* or *wife* had the signification of "hare"; his *father's* name was "Lagos," or hare.

The Talmud, it must be observed, does not account for the deviations it enumerates; it gives no motives for the translators deviating from the text they were translating; nor can there in many places be assigned any plausible reason for a deviation. But this bare fact of the enumeration of the passages attests the truth of the statement; for if it be fiction, the Talmud would have decorated it with motives and glosses, so as to make it appear as if it were truth. At the time the translation was made, there were, doubtless, certain reasons to make such deviations feasible, but these were in the lapse of time forgotten, and only the facts remained in the recollection of Palestine tradition.

The account in the Jerusalem Talmud is to be understood as stating, that the Seventy Presbyters altered some passages, and handed over one copy of the Pentateuch to King Ptolemy. The Jerusalem Talmud speaks of no *translation*. They gave one copy to the king, as a present for his library, in which books from all parts of the then known world were collected. The king had no desire to make himself acquainted with the contents of the law, but he wished to possess the books to furnish his library with them. The alterations were made in the Hebrew copy, in order that mistakes might be avoided, if the king should desire that a translation into Greek should be made from it. They therefore altered the first Hebrew sentence in the Bible, which is בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים, into אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא בְּרֵאשִׁית, because it might have been translated, "Through a beginning (δι' ὑλῆς) God created."

The Jerusalem Talmud knows nothing of the embassy to the high-priest Eleazar, which Aristeas narrates, nor does it ascribe inspiration to the Seventy. The accounts of the Babylonish Talmud are obviously exaggerated,

and decorated with fictitious events, as is frequently done in other places. The Babylonish Talmud, in this case at least, is no reliable authority.

There is no possibility of reconciling the Hebrew text with the Alexandrian version, if we continue to think of the latter as of a translation which was accomplished for the purpose of making the original Hebrew Bible to the Greek Jews to be of no exclusive use and importance, as it became to the Hellenistic Jews in more modern times, and also to the Greek Christians.

It would be worse than ludicrous to support the opinion of the imbecile writers who mantled their ignorance with an appearance of piety, and advanced the opinion in regard to the Septuagint, that the Holy Ghost by which the prophets were inspired influenced also the Greek translators, and that they were privileged to accomplish what the prophets had omitted, for purposes known only to themselves.*

The Jewish writer, Rabbi Asaria di Rossi, believes that the primitive Greek translation was a good one, but was afterwards corrupted by the Alexandrian Greeks, who were always hostile to the Jews. This view cannot be supported, because the Septuagint exhibits errors which must be ascribed to the ignorance of the translators themselves; and, moreover, we find that Philo, in his Treatises, quotes passages from the Septuagint, which manifest the same errors that are now in our printed Greek Bibles. The corruptions would have emanated from Gentile — not from Christian — Greeks; but what business had Alexandrian Gentile citizens with the Hebrew religious books? How came they to be so well acquainted with the contents of the Jewish sacred writings, as to know which passages were corrupt, and which to leave unaltered?

A second opinion of the same learned Rabbi has much greater probability, and might be acceptable for many other reasons. Rabbi Asaria di Rossi thinks that the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures was made from a Chaldaic version, — not from the Hebrew, — which was made in the time of Ezra, for the sake of explaining the original Hebrew to the people. This Chaldaic version,

* See Augustin de Civitate Dei, Lib. XV. cap. 13.

if we may style it so, was paraphrastic, and adapted to the intellect of the Jews, who, returning from the Babylonish captivity, had forgotten their native tongue, partly at least, and acquired the language of their new masters. But this second opinion of Di Rossi, however probable it may appear, is by no means correct. The deviations from the Hebrew which we meet with in the Septuagint have their source in the translators themselves, and not in another version. They translated from the original Hebrew; but they entertained opinions which prevailed in their time, and these, together with dominant religious sentiments, influenced their method of translating.

Another reason that might induce the belief that the Greek version was made from a translation, and not from the original Hebrew, is, that the Greek version agrees in numerous places with the Samaritan, and not with the Hebrew. The Samaritans are still in possession of a Pentateuch, which in many passages corresponds with the Septuagint, and differs from the Hebrew. Many learned scholars, like Selden, Hottinger, and Eichhorn, therefore, were of the opinion that the Septuagint was made from the Samaritan text. But this does not sufficiently explain all the differences and discrepancies of the Septuagint which are in the prophetic writings; since the Samaritans have nothing in common with the Jewish Scriptures except the Pentateuch alone. The Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, moreover, manifests strikingly that it was originally made from a Chaldaic translation, which was in the hands of the people, teeming with mistakes and errors. This might answer the question, why the Septuagint agrees in many places with the Samaritan, for doubtless the translators were cognizant of the same Chaldaic version from which the Samaritan was made; but it does not solve the numerous other problematic and perplexing questions which arise in reading the Septuagint. We can, then, only understand the Septuagint when we assume that it is a translation from the original Hebrew; and the deviations are accounted for by the particular views, knowledge, and plan the translators embraced and entertained. This is the only and sure stand-point from which criticism can safely set out to make a collation between the Greek text and that one from which we think the Septuagint was rendered.

Doubt and uncertainty have enveloped the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. If we now return to its history, we have no certain guide to find out with accuracy and safety, either the time at which the beginning of the translation was made, or when it was finished; nor do we know in what place, city, or village it was produced. The fabulous narratives of the ancients, and the credulous belief of more modern writers, do not deserve our implicit confidence. An earnest and thorough perusal of the *entire* Septuagint, as we have it now, will suggest many doubts in regard to the common belief, that the place in which the translation of the Bible into Greek was made was Alexandria.

Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, who, in the course of his philosophic dissertations, quotes numerous passages from Scripture in support of his fanciful, mystical notions, makes no mention of many books which we have now incorporated in the Scriptures. It is strange that he quotes no passages from the book of Ezekiel, from which he might have obtained ample support for his method of allegorizing Scriptural narratives. But this would form no objection to the belief that the book of Ezekiel was translated before the time of Philo, indicating only that the translation might not have been made in Alexandria. It was perhaps made in Cyrene,* or in some other of the North-African Jewish settlements, and came to Alexandria after the time of Philo. Such was probably the case with the book of Daniel. From time immemorial, a translation of this book from that of Theodotion was used, and not that of the Seventy. The reason why the translation of Theodotion was used, was not known even to Hieronymus, who says in his preface to Daniel: "Danielem Prophetam juxta septuaginta interpretes D. S. Ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione: et hoc cur acciderit nescio." But the book of Daniel might also have been translated in another place than Alexandria, and the translation may have become known after that of Theodotion was spread in Egypt; and when the Church collected the Scriptural books into one canon, the collectors may have incorporated Theodotion's translation of the book of Daniel.

* See Wesseling de Judæorum Archontibus.

Alexandria, therefore, is by no means proved to have been the place where the whole Septuagint was made. There is no doubt that Hellenistic Jews translated the Hebrew Scriptures, and that the want of such a translation was first felt in Alexandria, whence the impulse proceeded, and in which was then the earliest and most esteemed Jewish settlement. In this city the Jews began first to translate from Hebrew into Greek; but the whole Greek version of the Bible was by no means accomplished there. It would be an over-hasty judgment, if we should maintain the opinion that the Pentateuch, in its complete form, was translated in Alexandria. The question naturally suggests itself, whether there was no translation of the Bible made in any other place. The development of the Jewish spirit was not limited to Alexandria alone. The Palestine Jews, who departed from the line of interpretation according to the sense of the word, and invented that of the Agadah, have interpreted or paraphrased the Scriptures in various places; and we are justified in supposing that the Hellenistic Jews were not inferior or less zealous than their coreligionists in Palestine. Two ways suggest themselves for solving the problematic question in relation to the completion of the Septuagint. We must first ascertain when each separate book was translated and introduced into the Jewish communities as a finished book; and, secondly, when the whole Septuagint was concluded, and considered as a finished translation of the Hebrew Bible, among the Jewish communities at large. In respect to the latter question, we must simply affirm, in accordance with our previous argument, that the synagogue in Alexandria never knew of a *canon* of the *whole* Scriptures. But the Pentateuch even, it seems, was not generally considered as a *canon*.

We find also a large number of glosses in the Septuagint version, which are remnants of a previous translation. From the narrative of Aristeas himself, it appears that frequent alterations were made in the translation previous to that of which he is the historian. He says: "This translation was read before the priests, the learned, and the elders, and the desire was manifested by many that it should remain in this form, and that nothing in it should be altered. As this desire found general ap-

probation, he (Demetrius) commanded that the curse (Cherem) should be pronounced over every one who might correct it, add to it, or take from it." * This fiction of Aristeas, about the reading before the priests, the learned, and the elders, carries with it, at least, the certainty that the Greek version lacked that sacredness which makes a version unalterable among the people, and that the former translations were frequently altered. It was the desire of Aristeas to procure for the Alexandrian version absolute authority among the Jews in Alexandria; he therefore tells them, that it was made from a Palestine copy, and by Palestine Jews, and decorates his narrative with fictitious events, to persuade, if not to delude, the people to believe in his statements. He endeavors to flatter the national pride of the Alexandrian Jews; and the whole narrative is calculated to produce admiration of their own nationality, which should have the consequence of influencing their judgment, and of inducing the belief of the authority of the Greek translation for which he contended.

As long as the knowledge of the Hebrew language was retained in Alexandria, the Septuagint could obtain no authority at all. Aristobulus, for instance, quotes passages from the original Hebrew text (verbally), and not from the Septuagint. He relates that the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, but does not mention any thing of those pompous events with which Aristeas decorates his narrative.

The Jewish tragedian, Ezekiel, who lived about two centuries before our era, alludes frequently to the Septuagint; but the poet, who was much occupied in accomplishing his task of writing a Biblical drama in the Greek dialect, cherished the Greek version, because it saved him time by its making references to the original Hebrew of no importance.

The Septuagint, however, was in the time of Philo,

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* Καθὼς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη τὰ τεύχη στάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἵ τε ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους, εἶπον. ἐπεὶ καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως διηρμήνευται, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως. Καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν, ἵνα διαμένῃ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ μὴ γένηται μηδεμία διασκευή. πάντων δὲ ἐπιφωνησάντων τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐκέλευσε διαράσασθαι, καθὼς ἔτος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. εἴ τις διασκευάσει προστιθεὶς ἢ μεταφέρων τι τὸ σύνολον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν.

the Alexandrian philosopher, very much in the same condition as that in which we now possess it. Philo used the Septuagint as if it were the original itself. He comments on single words, not as if they were the words of men, but of God. He discovers mystical and concealed ideas in words which seem to the common sense superfluous and obscure. He considers the Greek text as the Palestine Jews considered the Hebrew text; and we cannot deny that he seems to have stood in awe of the sacredness of the Septuagint. The original text was entirely unknown to him; and he had not the slightest idea that the Greek text deviates from the Hebrew. He knew not even the elements of the Hebrew language. Is not this fact, that Philo, the learned philosopher, who was so well versed in Greek and Latin literature, and withal was likewise a pious Israelite, did not know the elements of Hebrew, a strong evidence of the entire extinction of the Hebrew language in Alexandria in his time?

This fact might induce the belief, that the Greek Pentateuch, at least, was considered as canonical among the Alexandrian Jews, and was read in the synagogues on Sabbaths and holy days. But how is it that the quotations from the Septuagint, in the works of Philo, differ so very much from the Hebrew text? If the text of the Septuagint which was read in the synagogue was correct, how is it that the verses which are quoted by Philo are so very unlike the Hebrew?

The way of reading the Pentateuch in the synagogues must, therefore, have been very different from what is commonly supposed; and we can ascertain the way of reading in Alexandria, if we inquire what was the method that prevailed in Palestine.

On every Sabbath a certain fixed part — *Parasha* — of the Pentateuch was read in the Palestine synagogue, to which a corresponding passage from the prophetic writings — *Haphtara* — was added. The time when the reading of a part of the Pentateuch was introduced is mentioned as very ancient by the Jews, by the Apostles, by Josephus, and in the Talmud. The time when the reading of the corresponding passages from the Prophets was introduced is not known. It is thought that the reading of the Prophets was introduced in the time of the Maccabees. Antiochus Epiphanes prohibited the

Jews from reading in the Pentateuch. They, therefore, substituted for the Parashas the Haphtaras; or, as the satellites of Antiochus seized and destroyed every copy of the Pentateuch which they found in the synagogues, the Jews introduced the reading of prophetic passages instead of the Parashas from the Law. These prophetic passages were retained and sanctioned in the time of the glorious victories of the Maccabees. But it appears to us, that these motives for the reading of the Haphtaras have no foundation at all. Antiochus himself could make no distinction between Law and Prophets, and he was probably alike hostile to both; and the satellites and soldiers, who were commissioned to search the Jewish synagogues and houses for their books, doubtless made no investigation to ascertain whether they were the books of Moses or of Isaiah and Jeremiah. They destroyed every book they obtained, without much inquiry as to its contents. These motives lack also all historical foundation, as neither the Mishna nor the Talmud mentions the introduction of the reading from the Prophets into the synagogue as caused by the tyranny of Epiphanes. If we now examine the facts relating to the reading from the Prophets, we discover no regulations in the rituals of the synagogue concerning them. For four Sabbaths only, and for four festivals, passages were ritually fixed.* But even these regulations are of more modern date, and are disputed in the Talmud. How is it, we ask, that there are no ritual regulations for the reading from the Prophets, as for that from the Law? Our reply is, that the reading from the Law was connected with the lectures which were delivered on every Sabbath from time immemorial. These lectures were generally prefaced or introduced by passages from books of the Prophets or from the Hagiographa. The Haphtaras † were the introductions to the lectures. The lecture was a plain explanation of the Parasha which was read in the synagogue, and was introduced by the Haphtara, containing sentiments similar to those just read from the Pentateuch. But as the passages contained also sentiments which were not like those from the Law, the lec-

* Megilla, fol. 30, 31.

† Haphtaras, from the Hebrew stem פָּתַח, *to open.*

turer had free scope to develop his wisdom and skill in the art of exegesis and interpretation. The lecturer then added more passages from the Prophets, according to his own will, without restriction or ritual regulation. This was the beginning of the reading from the Prophets, which became in the course of time a fixed custom; and those passages, having been once defined, were read in the synagogues and observed as strictly as the reading of the Law itself. In spite of this fact, however, the passages were liable to alteration, and the regulation was not always closely followed. The Haphtara, consequently, was in Palestine considered as arranged for the lecturers, and in a similar way was also the reading of the Pentateuch in Alexandria. Passages were selected from the Pentateuch for a lecture on every Sabbath; but the reading of Parashas from the Pentateuch, as it was customary with the Palestine Jews, was not known in Alexandria at all. Philo is our safe guide. He says: "The schools, where wisdom, temperance, fortitude, justice, and other virtues are taught, are opened on the Sabbath day. Here many sit deeply silent and listen with close attention, thirsting after the precious teachings. One of the most learned now rises and lectures on that which is most wholesome and useful, leading man to that which is best for him. These inexhaustible words and doctrines are divided into two parts. The one is in relation to God, concerning piety and holiness, the second in relation to man, concerning philanthropy and justice."* It is evident that he does not speak of *reading* from the Pentateuch, but of *lecturing* on it. A comparison with another passage from Philo's writings will leave no doubt that he speaks in the quoted passage of lectures. "In every district of Egypt," Philo says, "reside many Therapeutes, especially in Alexandria. On each Sabbath day they come together to converse with each other. The oldest and the most learned one, who

* *Ἀναπέπταται γοῦν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις μύρια κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ διακοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἐν οἷς οἱ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ καθέζονται, σὺν ἡσυχίᾳ τὰ ὦτα ἀνωρθιακότες μετὰ προσοχῆς πασῆς, ἕνεκα τοῦ διψῆν λόγων ποτίμων. Ἀναστάς δέ τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὑφηγεῖται τἄριστα καὶ συνοίσαντα, οἷς ἅπας ὁ βίος ἐπιδώσει πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, τό τε πρὸς θεὸν δι' εὐσέβειας καὶ ὁσιότητος, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ διακοσύνης.*

possesses the largest amount of knowledge in the laws, rises and delivers a lecture."* Speaking of the Essenes, Philo says: "Palestine and Syria are also not devoid of that high virtue (as it is found among the Gymnosophists in India). A great part of that country is inhabited by Jews, among whom are about four thousand of the Essenes. They study the laws of the fathers at all times, but particularly so on the Sabbath days. The Sabbath is with them a holy day, and they do in it no other work. They come together in holy places, called synagogues; there they sit according to their respective ages, the youths after the aged, listening attentively. One *reads* the Scriptures, and another of the most learned explains the difficult passages." †

In this passage there is distinctly mentioned the *reading* of the Scriptures as a peculiar custom of the Essenes in Palestine. He is very particular in mentioning the name of the meeting-places, *synagogues* as they were called in Palestine. In Alexandria and in Rome, Philo styles the places of worship *proseuches*. Philo, it seems, obtained his information of the Essenes on his journey to Palestine; he knew full well the Palestine custom of *reading* the Scriptures in the synagogues, and yet he never mentions the reading when speaking of the Alexandrian houses of prayer, not even among the Therapeutes, who resembled the Essenes in many respects. Philo's strange ignorance of the Hebrew tongue and the corruption of the Septuagint can now be sufficiently explained. A single passage, as a text for a lecture only, was chosen and read in the house of prayer; the Scrip-

* Πλεονάζει δὲ (scilicet τὸ γένος τῶν θεραπευτῶν) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νομῶν καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ταῖς δὲ ἑβδόμαις συνέρχονται καθάπερ εἰς κοινὸν σύλλογον. παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἐμπειρότατος διαλέγεται.

† Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Συρία καλοκἀγαθίας οὐκ ἄμοιρος, ἣν πολυανθρωποτάτου γένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται. λέγονταί τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Ἐσσαῖοι, πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχιλίους. τούτους (scilicet πατρίους νόμους) ἀναδιδάσκοντες μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις μάλιστα διαφερόντως. ἱερὰ γὰρ ἡ ἑβδόμη νενόμισται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχονται ἔργων. εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς, εἶθ' ὁ μὲν τας βίβλους ἀναγινώσκει λαβών, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθών ἀναγινώσκει.

ture was not ritually divided into Parashas, to be read on every Sabbath by the appointed section. The lecture was delivered in the Greek language; and if we should even assume that the text was read in the Hebrew, we could by no means be justified in supposing that the Alexandrian Jews understood it, as it was also translated into the Greek. There was also, from the same cause, not much care employed to guard the version against discrepancies, because the texts which were taken from it formed only insignificant parts.

The Septuagint, although spread abroad among the Jews in Asia Minor, was never considered as canonical. It served only as an interpretation of the Hebrew text. The quotations in the New Testament, which are often at discord and variance with the Septuagint, prove that the Jews never possessed any fixed canon of the Greek version. The testimony of the Church Fathers, that the Greek version was found in the Jewish synagogues, does not at the same time demonstrate that the Greek version was *read* in the synagogue in accordance with a ritually established regulation. Justin Martyr complains of the Jews having corrupted the Septuagint in three places; but if this accusation be true, it tends only to prove that the Jews considered the Septuagint as a profane book, and did not attach to it any canonical sacredness. If the Jews had been aware that there was in existence a revised, canonical Greek version, which was generally acknowledged and accepted, they would not have ventured on the corruption of which Justin accuses them. The revised canon would have detected their flagrant falsehoods; bnt there was never a standard copy, which was esteemed canonical, and so every transcriber was at liberty to write what he thought proper, for the sake either of correction or of corruption.

T. R.

ART. II. — ANSCHAR, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH.*

IT was towards the middle of the ninth century — just a thousand years ago — that the Apostle of the North went on his perilous mission among our Northern ancestors; and the aggressive faith of Christendom encountered the grim superstitions of Scandinavia. The realm of Charlemagne was as yet undivided, though his son Louis held the great Emperor's declining sceptre with a less vigorous grasp. The germs were secretly growing, of the changes which presently became visible enough on the political map of Europe: jealousies among the sons of Louis, which led to the violent partition of the empire, at the disastrous battle of Fontenoi; missionary enterprises, which before the end of this century had brought the rude nations of Scandinavia and Muscovy within the pale of a nominal Christianity; steady aggressions of Church power (helped on by the forged decretals of Isidore), which fortified the See of Rome in its newly gotten temporal dominion; intellectual discussion, fostered under the intelligent rule of Charlemagne, which brought on the violent controversies respecting transubstantiation and predestination; the ecclesiastical tastes and policy of the pious Emperor, which prepared France to become a theocratic republic in the days of Hinkmar, and to oppose so vigorous a resistance to the encroachments of the Papacy; commercial enterprises, undertaken by the sea-faring people of the North, which spread the treasures of Byzantium to the remotest West, while they made the entering-wedge for Christianity to penetrate the dark mass of pagan barbarism; and the expeditions of the Baltic pirates, which kept the European coasts in constant terror, and drove men, for their last defence, upon the harsh *régime* of Feudalism.

The ninth century is further interesting to us, since it brought about the first firm organization of the British people, under the Saxon Alfred. And while England fortified itself, under him, as an independent power, Ireland, less exposed to the storms that swept the continent,

* *Anschar: a Story of the North.* By RICHARD JOHN KING. London: J. W. Parker. 1850. pp. 390.

was already "the isle of the saints," and one of the chief seats of Christian learning. Saint Patrick had brought the Gospel thither four centuries before, and Columba, at the close of the sixth century, had carried out his vigorous reform of the monastic system over half of Europe. Eminent before all others for scholarship and philosophy were Alcuin, at the court of Charlemagne, and John "the Scot" (called "Erigena," or Son of Erin), the philosophical champion of Hinkmar, and opponent of the morbid dogmatism of Gottschalk.

And so this period of dissolution, feebleness, and barren contention, as it might seem at first, proves to be one of no common interest and importance. The short-lived empire of Charlemagne had served its purpose of establishing a sort of confederacy of nations in Western Europe. It furnished, as it were, a narrow isthmus between the waters in which were dissolving great drifts and fragments of the ancient civilization, and those out of which new continents were forming. After passing it, we are fairly embarked upon the course of modern history. The populations which come before our notice, and the historical causes at work, are those which are vital even now.

A few words more, in exposition of these causes and results, may not be unfit as an introduction to the story whose title is the name of the most eminent Christian champion of the ninth century. The mission of Anschar into Sweden was one of the fruits of the peaceful and religious policy of Louis. Along with the conquests of his father, (those pitiless conquests in which, it was said, all were cut off who were "taller than the Emperor's sword,") a sort of nominal Christianity had been carried into the Saxon forests, and a mongrel faith had driven back the ancient worship of Odin and Thor. Such as it was, however, and in spite of formidable recoils of the old superstition from time to time, it seems to have pledged these regions to an alliance with the Christian monarchy of the West. Loyalty to their faith was like loyalty to their flag; and, with whatever misgiving and reluctance, the rude Saxon stood stanchly by that mightier Power which had foiled his fathers' gods. The great peril to these wavering conquests of the Church militant lay in the barbarous realm beyond. The breach

might be easily healed where it had been suddenly broken; and a horde of Sclaves, Danes, or Swedes might find itself in alliance with all the passionate terrors of a lingering paganism.

To prevent this impending peril was the constant object of the Emperor's watchfulness. It was guarded against alike by the relentless policy of Charlemagne, and by the anxious forethought of his humane son. What his father had kept back by the strong arm and sharp sword, Louis sought to neutralize, by invading the grim paganism itself, which created the danger. The hands that were trained in the sleepless service of the Great Emperor, still guarded the boundaries of his dominion; but the spirit that directed them was less hardy and enterprising, and quite incompetent to the sterner task of conquest. Besides, in the fifty-three several campaigns that were forced upon it, the empire had already, in the lifetime of Charles, exhausted its vitality. From being a needful defence of the Christian frontier, it had become "a tyrannic effort at a premature centralization, — a forced partnership in one immense warfare, which caused the reverses of Ostrasia to be felt as far westward as the Loire." As it was in the decay of the Roman state, freemen were drawn away for military service, or absorbed in the increasing class of the miserably poor, while the land was shared more and more in vast estates. Owners of the broad domains became feudal lords of the soil, while vast numbers were falling into the wretched condition of slaves.* Whole tracts of country were depopulated by the proprietors, whose political economy taught them to prefer the profits of cattle and sheep to the prosperity of the district, or the lives of men. "From the wrath and ravage of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us!" had come to be a part of the litanies of France. The mighty Charles had wept at his palace window when he saw the pirate fleets that were only kept back for a time by the terror of his name, and knew what great calamities must follow at his death.

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* See Sismondi. The grants of Charlemagne included men as well as cattle with the estate; and the convent property which he bestowed on Alcuin was "stocked" with no less than twenty thousand slaves.

To repair these calamities was the sincere and earnest endeavor of his successor. He redressed such wrongs as were within his reach. He loosed the heavy burdens that his father had imposed; and even shed tears when an insurgent cousin perished by the rough handling of his officers. He was himself ruled by some of the better sort of clergy, and in all sincerity undertook a much needed religious reform.* Those who before were scattered and irresponsible he bound in closer association, under canon laws, and put them under a discipline similar to that of the monks. In fact, the singularly effective organization of the Catholic priesthood is very largely due to the efforts made in this way, about this time.

This reform at home went along with the Emperor's religious policy before spoken of, which was, to neutralize the aggressive force of paganism by the peaceful spread of Christianity. Paschasius Radbert, champion of the new doctrine of transubstantiation, ("the first," says a Roman Catholic historian, "to unfold the genuine sense of the Catholic Church,") was the head of a celebrated school at Corbey, in France. His favorite pupil was the young man Anschar (or Ansgar), who at the time of his first mission among the barbarians was only twenty-four. In the fervid visions of his youth he had beheld the visible glory of the Lord, and had heard himself summoned, by no human voice, to spend his life for the conversion of the heathen, and win the blessed crown

* It shows the growing spiritual pride, that the priests sent out on missions were forbidden to do any servile task. Labor with the hands was prohibited, whether in husbandry or trades. To secure the bishops' influence, the sovereign would bestow on them civil rights and powers. They were made counts and dukes, to set off the rude violence of feudal chiefs. A Bishop of Ratisbon was once in peril of his life in battle; but, says the chronicler, "Taking comfort in the Lord, after a long struggle he overthrew his foe, and with much difficulty got home safe. He was a good soldier among the clergy, and an excellent pastor; and his scar was a mark of honor, and not shame." "Ask of the clergy," says one of the capitularies of Charlemagne, "whether he has renounced the world, who labors every day, no matter by what means, to increase his wealth, sometimes promising the blessedness of heaven, sometimes threatening the eternal doom of hell; or else, in the name of God or of some saint, spoils of his goods some simple and ignorant man, rich or poor, so that his lawful heirs lose them, and the greater part, by reason of the misery into which they fall, are driven into all sorts of disorder and crime, and commit, almost by necessity, assault and robbery."

of martyrdom. A man of firm and intrepid will, he shared the tender and mystical faith of his teacher Radbert;* yet in him it took a more visionary character, and was tinged always with a vein of sadness; and it was his favorite resource to withdraw from the cares of his active ministry to pious meditations, and acts of penitence or devotion. Conceiving himself summoned and foreappointed to the great Christian enterprise, he had waited, modestly and humbly, till the evident call of God should come. The monastery of New Corbey was founded on the Elbe, — a station whence the Christian conquests which Boniface had begun were pushed, under Anschar, into the remoter North. A fortress had been established at Hamburg, among the dense forests that made the frontier of paganism; this, and afterwards Bremen, became the seat of Anschar's bishopric. Harold Hlak, an exiled Danish or Jutland chief, had found refuge with the Emperor Louis, adopting the Christian faith; and his return opened the way for a mission among the Danes. The roving traders of Scandinavia had been as far as Micklagard, the "great city" of the East (Constantinople); and there, or along the Mediterranean, or on the English coast, or at the court of Louis, they had found the worship of the white Christ, † whose invisible might had broken the Saxon superstitions, and forced the ancient religion to intrench itself in the strongholds of their wilder mountains and ruder forests. The secret charm of a more peaceful faith, the Catholic ritual, which seemed to them the invocation of another order of spirits, the language and patient fidelity of Christian captives at home, and, still more, the irresistible impression that came from dealing with a more skilled and cultured race, all prepared them to seek and welcome the new religion. It was at their request, and under the convoy of a trading fleet, that Anschar went on his first mission to the far North, — that mission whose issue is detailed in the narrative portion of the book before us.

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* The strongest expressions of Radbert in behalf of the "real presence" may easily be rendered into warm and highly colored religious rhetoric; and it must be remembered that they preceded, not followed, the controversy that gave shape and sharpness to the dogma. (See Gieseler.)

† So called because those to be baptized were clothed in white. (Pigott's Manual of Scandinavian Mythology.)

These details are mostly inventions of the author. Respecting the real events of the Swedish mission, the history is brief and meagre. They are known only through the personal narrative of the life of Anschar, written by his companion and successor, Rembert. We know not much more, than that the mission was favored by a powerful and intelligent party among the Swedes; that it was partly foiled by an attack of pirates, who seized most of the royal gifts and holy vessels on the way; that it met the fierce hostility of that old paganism, which stood savagely at bay in this its last fortress; that the life of Anschar was wandering and hazardous, the church and bishopric at Hamburg being laid waste with fire; and that he died at the age of sixty-four, in sorrow that his Lord had not thought him worthy of the martyr's crown. He was a man tenderly, almost morbidly, humble and devout, so that, when a crowd pressed round him to receive some miraculous blessing at his hands, he said, "If the Lord would condescend to work any miracle here, I pray it might be to make me a good man": yet withal heroic and noble, so that his name is held in grateful veneration in the country of his mission, and he is worthily called Saint, and Apostle of the North.

From the religious, we return for a moment to follow a little further down the course of civil history. The reform which Louis the Pious had undertaken was one which could hardly have been carried out by the energy of any one man, — certainly not by him. The very attempt raised him up enemies enough, not only to baffle his plans for the Church, but to thwart his policy of state. His own sons opposed and rebelled against him. He married an alien queen, whose influence either paralyzed his will, or confirmed the rising jealousies. Outrageous and insolent demands were made of him, which he had no power to refuse. For the first time since the public penance of Theodosius, the sovereign of the empire was seen humbled before the Church. Weeping and in sackcloth, he was constrained to sign an ignominious and false acknowledgment of guilt; — for the mercies he had shown, for the ravages he was powerless to prevent, for the division of the realm, by which he had given power to his sons, and for the strifes they had stirred up with one another. The warrior-chiefs about him could never

pardon his degradation. The people might compassionate, but the nobles would despise. Fresh calamities came; an invasion of the Normans, a defeat by the Moors, a rebellion of his sons. Louis was dethroned, and put into a convent. He died before the quarrel was decided, leaving his four sons to share the empire. Fraternal jealousy was ranged side by side with antipathies of race. Italy, Germany, and France were separated into independent nations at the great battle of Fontenai,* where there perished of the hostile parties no less than forty thousand men.

To the imagination of the desolate period that followed, this battle was the destruction of the manhood of the Franks. The people's force and independence were already gone. They were inert and helpless before their invaders. The fury of the barbarian assaults was increased by "the vengeance of the serf and the rage of the apostate." Men fled from the oppression of their servitude, or the punishment of their crimes, and became outlaws and borderers. Leaguing themselves with the hordes of Northern pirates, they carried back terror and desolation to the land they had deserted. Those formidable fleets came unresisted upon the shores and passed up the rivers of France. While garments were to be had for baptizing, and favors for conversion, the pagans had shown no reluctance to embrace the Christian profession. But now that these were to be had no longer, they returned to Odin, the god of battle, and Thor, the thunderer. Their ships were adorned with the fearful heathen devices of the snake and dragon. When their ivory horn sounded on the river or along the shore, the wretched people had no leaders to rally them, and no courage to resist. They fled for refuge to the shrines and relics; but these appealed to no barbarian scruple. The shrines were violated; the relics, which had wrought so many marvels while the people had faith in them, were now helpless, and borne helplessly in the flight of priest and peasant. Men were glad to purchase liberty or life with means that only put fresh power for ravage into the invaders' hands. One convent was ransomed many times, then burned, when there was no more left

* A. D. 843.

to ransom it. An archbishop was taken by the Moors, and his liberty purchased with a hundred and fifty pounds of silver, as many cloaks, as many swords, and as many slaves; but when they went to receive him, he was dead. When the marauders came, the king sent only to negotiate for how much spoil they might be bribed to stay away. It was an article of treaty with them, that, if one of their prisoners should escape, he should be given back, or a price paid for him; if a Norman was slain, his blood was redeemed at a stipulated price. Desolation and famine were spread through France. Earth was mingled with the meal of which the people made their bread. Forests grew up in the heart of the land. A chief who had gained some passing advantage had to cut his way through brambles to the cathedral where he was to render thanks. A single district was ravaged by three hundred wolves. A wooden fort, or stockade, which was built for the defence of the country, had no one to man it, and was rather of service to the pagans. Paris was saved from assault by the infamous expedient of the king's inducing them to ravage Burgundy instead, — he having some quarrel with that province. The bishops, who had more power, undertook to levy troops and provide for the common defence; but they were timid and uncertain, and the people begged them, "Defend the realm only by your prayers against the Northmen and the rest: do not try to protect us: if you wish for any help of ours, beg the apostolic lord not to set over us a king unable to help us at a distance against the sudden and frequent assaults of the heathen." *

Hitherto the great estates had been all in the king's gift. He was jealous of the nobles, and wished to check their power; they were jealous of the people, and would not suffer them to combine for mutual defence. But at last the wretchedness of the land, or the threats of the nobles, wrung the king's unwilling consent. He made their lordships hereditary, and gave them a perpetual tenure of the land. This was the turning-point, — the true commencement of the feudal system.† It was a revolution sought alike by the nobles and the people. "Nothing was more popular than feudalism at its birth."

* Michelet. † A. D. 877.

It was a complete military organization of the whole country. Vigor and confidence began everywhere to be felt. Thirteen years before, it had been forbidden to build castles: now they sprang up in every district. Every available point of land was made a rampart. The rocky hill, the bold river-shore, were fortified by these massive and inaccessible structures, which first guarded from assault the people that clustered below, and afterwards became the strength of the strong arm of baronial tyranny, or the garrisons of numberless private wars; serving now in their decay as pictures in the landscape of Northern France, or adorning the course of the "castled Rhine."

The scene of our narrative is happily chosen, at a time when the changes of which we have spoken were still in germ. The coming calamities only serve to throw a sombre coloring upon the meditation of the old man who is supposed to recount his youthful enterprise in the train of Anschar, without interrupting the dramatic interest of the tale. In style, it affects the antique fashion of a chronicler, — not wholly without success, though the freshness of the story and the spirit of the dialogue are not a little clogged by it. It is not for us to criticize the faithfulness of the representation given of the manners, superstitions, legends, and races, which the writer introduces. That is his affair, not ours. In good faith, as readers, we must assume his good faith as author. His mind is evidently very familiar with a style of literature and mythology, which no one, to our knowledge, has used in English to as good purpose as he has done, except Sir Walter Scott, in some portions of "The Pirate." We do not, of course, compare the two authors in respect of narrative or constructive skill; but whatever advantage one may have in these, is more than made up to the other by the prodigious superiority of his point of view. Instead of the fading relic of an obsolete superstition, lingering in the nook of one rocky island, and enough to inspire one crazed and unhappy brain, we have here the gigantic and full-grown mythologies of the North, wrestling on their own ground with the competitor before whom they feel that they are doomed to fall. To an unlearned eye, the author seems to have caught the true spirit of Scald and Saga, and the genuine Scandina-

vian inspiration fills the strain that comes from the deeper recesses of the pagan faith.

The course of the story is very direct and simple. Anselm, a young monk of the school of New Corbey, and now in Anschar's bishopric at Hamburg, (the same who recounts the story in his old age to his friend Leonardus in Italy,) has shared his teacher's enthusiasm for the toil and peril of a distant mission. It is half with joy and half in foreboding that he receives the summons to accompany him; and under the guidance of the Saxon Count Gerold they journey through the forest to meet the Swedish merchants who are to escort the mission. On the voyage his ship becomes separated from the rest, and is taken by pirates. While they are contending over the spoil, he escapes, with Jarl, a young Swede, and in an open boat they finally succeed in crossing to the opposite shore. The house of the rich merchant Nial, whose fair daughter (as well as Jarl) is almost a Christian, introduces us to the Swedish superstition at home, the vague, ominous terror at the new faith, the priestess and the mysterious car of Freya. Departing thence, his guide is one of the wild half-Oriental race of Finns, who mourns his people's defeat before the Swede, and exhibits their more fantastic, rude, and poetic style of superstition. This figure is introduced with remarkable felicity and effect. As a specimen of the style of the narrative, we copy the pathetic myth in which he recounts the fortune of his people.

"There was a time when the Swede and the Finn stood alone in the forest; twin brethren they were, and all the wild creatures of the wood were theirs in common. Then came a mighty storm out of the North, and the great oaks snapped before it, and the rocks rolled down from the mountains. 'Brother,' said the Swede to the Finn, 'fierce and terrible is the tempest; who may withstand its might? There is shelter beneath the great oak trunk yonder; let us seek it while there is yet time.' So the Swede crept him under the tree that lay uprooted by the storm; but the Finn remained without, as before, nor did he shrink beneath the strength of the gale. Then Wainamoinen, the mighty, looked forth out of the clouds upon the tree that sheltered the Swede; and it rose slowly, and the boards and the beams fell into their places, and lo! it became a lofty house, such as those in which the Swedes dwell to this day. And the Finn looked upon its walls and its roofs, and saw how they stood firmly

against the storm, that grew ever fiercer and fiercer. So at last he longed himself for shelter, and he went and knocked at the door of the house; but his brother looked forth and said, 'Nay, thou wouldst not come under the tree; now wander as thou wilt through the forest, and find what protection thou canst: with me thou shalt not dwell.' So the Finn strayed far away through the wood; but ever he held a firm front against the tempest, and his look was bolder under the black and stormy sky, than his brother's was beneath the rafters of his house. And since that day many sons have been born to either brother, but their dwelling is ever the same; the Finns beneath the sky; the Swedes under the darkened roofs that Wainamoinen first showed them how to lay upon the walls of their houses." — p. 182.

Arrived at the residence of King Biorn, Anselm rejoins his mission, and the day is presently fixed for a solemn discussion in the Althing, or assembly of all the Swedes. The gathering of the wilder mountaineers, the persons who mingle in the debate, the savage Berserk giant Skarpheddin, Herigar the king's counsellor and the stranger's friend (an historical character and name), with the temple and fanatic priests of the three great gods, give our author unlimited opportunity of descriptive detail, and are well managed to bring out the most striking features of Scandinavian manners and superstition. The assembly is violently interrupted by Skarpheddin, as champion of a troop of priests. The fair daughter of Nial (who has fully embraced the Christian faith) is seized as a doomed victim to the gods, and the lives of the missionaries are hardly spared until Anselm should return to the court of Louis, and bring back Nial himself, who is detained there as a sort of hostage, on his way from Byzantium. This journey introduces us to the Emperor Louis, his queen, Judith, and two Byzantine envoys, whose pompous luxury is somewhat wearily satirized. Nial proves to have become a Christian during his journey and residence at the court. He returns in all haste, just in time to be present on the day of the great Spring festival which should decide the fate of the captives, and to see the issue of the wager of battle between Skarpheddin and Jarl, who has meanwhile been seized and kept as prisoner in the great temple. He too has become a Christian; and Skarpheddin, who has sought to guard himself with Christian spells, hiding in his breast a copy of the Gospels, has fallen before his sword.

The tide of popular feeling is turned. The great temple is assaulted and broken open. The captives are rescued; and family feuds are ended in the Christian baptism of peace.

We have presented the outline of the story, so as to show how simply, yet ingeniously, occasion is found for weaving in whatever may serve to illustrate the life of the North a thousand years ago. It is here that its interest and merit lie. As illustrative descriptions, once assuming their historical veracity, most of the characters drawn in this book are admirable; and even those which seem most hazardous and unreal, as the Berserk and the Finn, are, to say the least, thoroughly well sustained. Gerold, the Saxon count, Eywind, the Swedish trader, Gottschalk, the pirate, Herigar, the counsellor, Geirroda, the sorceress, Ospak, the seer, are all freshly and vigorously drawn; and the pictures of natural scenery, which frequently occur, are beautifully delicate and clear, as if sketched by one to whom it is all familiar ground. The larger historical portraits, as those of Charlemagne and his son, are thrown into the background, yet given with sufficient distinctness to add a certain interest and dignity to the whole. We never forget the immediate presence of powers that control great events, or the importance of the issue that is to be decided.

Of Anschar we see scarcely more than the dim portraiture already familiar. A little more of austere and resolute purpose, a little less of tender and visionary piety, — this is all the author gives us of the great apostle, whose name he has taken for his title, and whose character we looked to find brought out in full proportions. With the development of the tale he is necessarily connected not at all, except as his mission traces a slight line for it to follow. It is not for us, where much is given, to ask for something else, which was not even intended. Yet we feel as if it were an error to shun so scrupulously the historical points of this enterprise, and the historical reality of the man who guided it, — at least, after calling attention to them in so taking a title. We are sure that the research, imagination, and descriptive power shown in this volume, if bestowed as Thierry has bestowed the same in his "Récits," would produce a result of at least equal interest, and of far greater value.

Some such service as this might be done by some one; and by whom so well as by our author?

Another defect in this work, considered as a picture of the ninth century, is that its perspective is incomplete. We are very skilfully made aware of a large part of what is needful to the understanding of the position, but not of all. A little care would easily have included some features, to which we have already adverted, in speaking of the decline of the Carlovingian dynasty. The spiritual rule and incipient controversies of the Church, the social condition of the empire, and the Moorish power that still hung on the southern border of Christendom, would have added depth and fulness to the perspective; yet they are not, perhaps, greatly missed. It is in the want of a distinct analysis, or apprehension, of the Christian thought and enterprise itself, that we find the chief deficiency Anschar's mission had its significance as part of the external policy of the empire; and even this, in its fulness, our author has failed to represent. But it had another significance, which grew out of the nature of the Christian belief, as then held and operative; and this surely required to be well understood and amply set forth. We find here nothing but the most superficial view of it; only the vague, abstract, colorless Christian faith, with the paraphernalia of the Romish ritual, its crucifix and silver bells striking the pagan mind as a new sort of spell or oracle. That faith as moulded by church discipline and monastic training into the most fervid and enthusiastic character it has ever borne; the doctrine of the real presence, as Anschar undoubtedly learned it from his teacher; the visions, tears, and mystic piety that were the apostle's preparation for his work; the heroic enthusiasm which shows all the brighter as a recoil from clerical cowardice and corruption, and the courage which was all the greater as a conquest of the trembling dread with which these men faced the spectres of a still living superstition, and strove consciously with devils, — these are but feebly hinted at, or not at all. Anschar is simply the model missionary, pious, determined, and courageous. Neither he nor his companion is that missionary-monk of the ninth century, whose complete portraiture we wait yet to see. Where was his weakness as well as strength; how the truth and falsity of his creed were mingled, so

that each perhaps was needful to his work; how a corrupt and ambitious Church kept up the enthusiastic loyalty of its servants, or how a cowardly and divided Christendom could present so winning a front to a fierce paganism; how Christian legend or festival came to terms with Northern superstition, adopting at the font what it could not drive from the altar, — these are questions which a book with the name and ability of this should not have left wholly untouched. The native legends of Scandinavia, with its fables of elf and fairy, which had their root in the soil, have survived in the popular mind their Christian substitutes of Church legend, and the superstitions of the South.* What were the nature, the power, and the durability of that Catholic civilization which brought the Northern nations, a thousand years ago, into the widening circle of Christendom?

But it would be ungracious to part with our author, who has given so largely and richly, in a mood of fault-finding because he has not answered all the hard questions we might be disposed to put. We have desired to call attention to that interesting period of time, which includes the great territorial conquests of the Church and the rapid culmination of its power. We are sincerely grateful for any thing that throws light on the circumstances of such a time. By a sort of proverb, it goes by the name of "the dark age"; and we are too easily content with the duskiest twilight, when we come within its boundaries. But it had light of its own, doubtless, as it certainly had vital warmth. The Catholic civilization — the grandest and most imposing structure of human history hitherto — was widening its bounds, and planting its deep roots. And that historical investigation, of importance inferior to none, which consists in tracing those lines of Christian development, will scarce find better aid for the present, than in such works as that which we have introduced to our readers.

J. H. A.

* So we were told by Frederica Bremer, who spoke of Anschar with right Swedish veneration.

ART. III. — PAUL'S DOCTRINE OF THE LAST THINGS.*

THE very valuable and laborious work named below has just been completed, and appears in magnificent style. It is illustrated by forty steel plates of the first order of beauty and excellence, accurately painting to the eye the chief localities of Paul's apostolic labors; by numerous detailed maps and charts, the most recent and reliable; and by more than a hundred fine wood engravings, giving representations of coins, statues, medals, buildings, landscapes, and whatever else is adapted to throw an additional light and interest over the old yet ever novel narrative. We do not hesitate to say, that, taking it for all in all, it is by far the most creditable production of the kind that has been issued within the pale of the Church of England for many a long day. It is learned, thoughtful, elaborate; clearly betokening, in the accomplished and courteous editors, freshness, vigor, research, and more of earnestness and independence than are commonly seen in the theological writings of accredited members of the "Establishment." An air of refined scholarly taste and finish pervades these volumes, and many evidences of editorial gifts and conscientiousness, scattered here and there, are constantly meeting the reader, and yielding him pleasure. But perhaps we shall convey the most adequate conception of the work in the shortest space, by enumerating in order what seem to us its prominent merits, and then stating the required exceptions or qualifications to our praise.

Without saying more of what will at once strike every observer, — namely, the exquisite typographical beauty of the pages, and their extreme rhetorical correctness and elegance, — we specify as a high claim to regard for this work, its comprehensiveness of design, alike in the extent of subject it covers and the amount of information necessary to treat its details. It proposes to give a com-

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* *The Life and Letters of St. Paul; comprising a Complete Biography of the Apostle, and a Translation of his Letters inserted in Chronological Order.* By the REV. W. S. CONYBEARE, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the REV. J. S. HOWSON, Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1850-1852. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 492 and 573.

plete living picture of Paul himself, and of the circumstances amidst which he acted his extraordinary part. And this aim, in a large degree, is worthily fulfilled. As in a vivid panorama, the dramatic moments, the sharp-edged escapes, the touching episodes, and all the dazzling scenery of romantic fortunes and chivalrous deeds in the career of that inspired genius, hero, saint, martyr, sweep before us. In varying description, the sects, schools, synagogues, customs, feelings, of the Jews, — the condition, relations, and influence of Greek and Roman philosophy, art, government, soldiery, — the religions, amusements, business, vices, navigation, of the age, — the rise and spread of the early Church in humble obscurities through thickening perils and amid fiery dissensions, — the great strife between the Gentile believers and those Judaizers "who were determined to confine Christendom within the walls of the synagogue, and to put Christianity on the same footing with Pharisaism and Sadduceeism, as a tolerated Jewish sect," — all arise clearly to our view.

A feature of special excellence, in this effort to call up from its tomb in renewed life the figure of a bygone age, is its most fresh and charming picture of the outward spots and scenes through which Paul passed. As we advance, all the land and water grows eloquent. The lights and shadows both of poetry and of history are on all sides; every rock towers as a monument, every current flows animated with some memory of the past. As we read, we seem to see "the earth, the sea, and the sky still combining for us in the same landscapes that met the eyes of the wayfaring Apostle. The plain of Cilicia, the snowy distances of Taurus, the cold and rapid stream of the Cydnus, the broad Orontes under the shadow of its steep banks, with their thickets of jasmine and oleander; the hills which stand about Jerusalem, the arched fountains cold in the ravines below, the flowery brooks that wash their consecrated bases; the capes and islands of the Grecian Sea, the craggy summit of Areopagus, the land-locked harbor of Syracuse, the towering cone of Etna, the voluptuous loveliness of the Campanian shore"; — all these are shown to us in such distinct outlines and colors, that we seem to feel ourselves journeying and resting with the journeying and resting Paul.

And then we have, interspersed along the biography, in the order in which it is supposed they were written, a new translation of all those "Epistles, which are to Paul's inward life what the mountains and rivers of Asia, Greece, and Italy are to his outward life, — the imperishable part which still remains to us, when all that time can ruin has passed away." Mr. Conybeare's version of the Letters of Paul is marked by great perspicuity and a good degree of force. It is not so closely literal as our common version, but is generally more clear and true. It is paraphrastic to that degree which is most useful and fitted for the intelligent common reader. Numerous texts are rendered with emphatic felicity. Let two examples suffice to show this. "Who hath believed our report? So then faith cometh by hearing." The obscurity and want of verbal connection here is entirely removed in Mr. Conybeare's happy and accurate translation: "Who hath given faith to our telling? So then faith cometh by telling." Again, at the close of the letter to the Galatians, where the authorized version reads, "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand," our author shows that Paul is calling attention to his autograph signature in proof of the genuineness of the epistle, written at his dictation by an amanuensis: "Observe the size of the characters in which I have written to you with my own hand." Good service is frequently done the reader in this translation by the particular attention paid to elucidating the transitions, so thick and swift in Paul's style, from one point of argument or sentiment to another.

A further merit in our editors is the judicious use they make of their copious learning, now in relevant quotations from the Fathers or the classics, now in illustrative accounts of Church traditions, now in various other useful forms. We give two or three instances. In the New Testament all the references to Christ in his glorified state, save one, represent him as *seated* at the right hand of the Father. In the dying vision of Stephen he is seen *standing*. "It is as if — according to Chrysostom's beautiful thought — he had risen from his throne to succor and receive his persecuted servant." Again, speaking of Paul's presence at the martyrdom of Stephen, our authors, tracing his conversion partly to the influences of

that hour, say, it is hardly too much to think, with Augustine, that the Church owes Paul to the prayer of Stephen; — "Si Stephanus non orasset, Ecclesia Paulum non haberet." The little chapel Domine Quo Vadis, in the outskirts of Rome, arose, our authors tell us, from the following sweet and beautiful tradition. Peter, in fear of his life, was fleeing from Rome over the Appian Way in the early dawn. Suddenly his Lord met him. The impulsive Apostle threw himself at his Master's feet, and exclaimed, "Domine, quo vadis?" — "Lord whither goest thou?" The Saviour looked mournfully upon him, and replied, "Venio iterum crucifigi," — "I go to be crucified again." The Apostle rose up, rebuked and penitent, returned to Rome, and was martyred.

The last trait of excellence which we shall mention in this work is the degree of freedom and candor it reveals, a degree unusual with the denomination to which its editors belong. For instance, they have awaked, to use their own words, "from that pleasing dream which represented the primitive Church as a society of angels, and now behold the reality, the existence therein of so many forms of error and sin and conflict." (Vol. I. p. 488.) They confess that "the Apostles were mistaken in expecting the second coming of Christ during their lives, as they plainly did." (Vol. II. p. 496.) They admit that "inspiration does not preserve from unessential errors, such as questions of chronology." (Vol. I. p. 188.) They own that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by Paul. They cogently argue that the Epistle to the Ephesians was never written to *them*, but probably to the Laodiceans. Their knowledge forces them to these concessions, and they frankly allow them. This is a credit to them, — though it is limited.

Thus we are led to those qualifications of our commendation of these volumes that justice compels us to make. A theological preconception and prejudice in the mind of the translator have induced him to render many verses of Paul's Epistles unfairly, imparting to some words and sentiments a Calvinistic twist and tinge not originally belonging to them; e. g. Romans iii. 25, 26. The version being explanatory, rather than literal, of course partakes of the doctrinal views of Mr. Conybeare as well as of St. Paul. An Episcopalian bias is ap-

parent in the analysis of the constitution of the primitive Church. Vestiges of superstition, indications of weakness, appear in the accounts given of the Demoniacs, and of the Heathen Oracles. The work is essentially, as well as ostensibly, a popular production, adapted to the common reader, not calculated for the profound student. Although it does contain acute critical remarks and valuable information, — for example, a comparative table showing that seventy-eight verses of the Epistle to the Colossians have expressions identical with those in the Epistle to the Ephesians (so called), — still it is not a work for the thorough critic. It retains false translations and spurious readings in the text, and disowns them in the notes; e. g. Phil. ii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 16. Its account of the early heresies is very superficial. It treats a great many questions of the utmost moment incompletely and unsatisfactorily. Regarded as a deep philosophical treatment, or as pretending to be a theological contribution, it would be a failure, it would be worth very little; but viewed, as it should be, as a popular history for the common reader, it is a very instructive, even a magnificent production. It is not a work of genius, of original insight and construction, but a work of industrious talent, of collection and arrangement. It does not grasp, and analyze, and show us the inmost peculiarities and courses of the time, but it gathers and groups and colors the outward details. For the former work, eminently uniting at the same time all the excellences of the latter, we look to no other man than James Martineau, whose long promised "Christianity of Paul" we wait with highest expectation.

The Apostle Paul, being freshly brought to the notice of scholars in the work we have been speaking of, we now propose, as a worthy way of occupying several more of these pages, to set forth a brief sketch of his doctrine of the last things. Some important points of Paul's theology we shall be obliged to overlook, all our room being wanted for the narrower theme designated at the head of this article.

The principal difficulty in getting at the system of thought and faith in the mind of Paul arises from the fragmentary character of his extant writings. They are not complete treatises drawn out in independent state-

ments, but special letters full of latent implications. They were written to meet particular emergencies, — to give advice, to convey or ask information and sympathy, to argue or decide, concerning various matters to a considerable extent of a personal or local and temporal nature. Obviously their author never suspected they would be the permanent and immensely influential documents they have since become. They were not composed as orderly developments or full presentations of a creed, but rather as supplements to more adequate oral instruction previously imparted. He says to the Thessalonians, "Brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or by our epistle." Several of his letters also, perhaps many, have been lost. He exhorts the Colossians to "read likewise the epistle from Laodicea." In his present First Epistle to the Corinthians, he intimates that he had previously corresponded with them, in the words, "I wrote to you in a letter." There are good reasons, too, for supposing that he transmitted other epistles of which we have now no account. Owing, therefore, to the facts, that his principal instructions were given by word of mouth, and that his surviving writings set forth no systematic array of doctrines, we have no choice left, if we desire to know what his opinions concerning the Last Things were, when adequately deduced and correctly arranged, but to exercise our learning and our faculties upon the imperfect discussions and the significant hints and clews in his extant epistles. Bringing these together in the light of contemporary Pharisaic and Christian conceptions and opinions, we may construct a system from them which will represent his theory, as the naturalist, from a few fragmentary bones, describes the entire skeleton to which they belonged. As we proceed to follow this process, we must particularly remember the leading notions in the doctrinal belief of the Jews at that period, and the fact that Paul himself was "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," "after the most straitest order of the sect, a Pharisee." When on trial at Jerusalem he cried, "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope of the resurrection of the dead I am called in question." We can hardly suppose that he would entirely throw off the influence and form of the Pharisaic

dogmas, and grasp Christianity in its pure spirituality. It is most reasonable to expect, what we shall find actually the fact, that he would mix the doctrinal and passionate results of his Pharisaic training with the teachings of Christ, thus forming a composite system considerably modified from any then existing. Indeed, a great many obscure texts in Paul may be made perspicuous by citations from the old Talmudists. Considering the value and the importance of this means of illustrating the New Testament, it is neglected by modern commentators in a very remarkable manner. But we must hasten to commence our task.

In common with his countrymen and the Gentiles, Paul undoubtedly believed in a world of light and bliss situated over the sky, where the Deity, surrounded by his angels, reigns in immortal splendor. According to the Greeks, Zeus and the other gods, with a few select heroes, lived there an imperishable life. According to the Hebrews, there was "the house of Jehovah," "the habitation of eternity," "the world of holy angels." The Old Testament contains many sublime allusions to this place. Jacob in his dream saw a ladder set up that reached unto heaven, and the angels were ascending and descending upon it. Fixing his eyes upon the summit, the patriarch exclaimed, not referring, as is commonly supposed, to the ground on which he lay, but to the opening in the sky through which the angels were passing and repassing, "Surely this is the house of God, and this the gate of heaven." Jehovah is described as "riding over the heaven of heavens"; as "treading upon the arch of the sky"; the firmament is spoken of as the solid floor of his abode, where "he layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters," the "waters above," which the book of Genesis says were "divided from the waters beneath." Though this divine world on high was, in the early ages, almost universally regarded as a local reality, it was not conceived by Jews or Gentiles to be the destined abode of human souls. It was thought to be exclusively occupied by Jehovah and his angels, or by the Gods and their messengers. Only here and there were scattered a few dim traditions, or poetic myths, of a prophet, a hero, a god-descended man, who, as a special favor, had been taken up to the supernal mansions. The common des-

tination of the disembodied spirits of men was the dark, stupendous realms of the under-world. As Augustine observes, "Christ died after many; he rose before any: by dying he suffered what many had suffered before; by rising he did what no one had ever done before."* These ideas of the celestial and the infernal localities, and of the fate of man, were of course entertained by Paul when he became a Christian. A few texts by way of evidence of this fact will here suffice. "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, and those on earth, and those under the earth." "He that descended first into the lower parts of the earth is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens." The untenableness of that explanation which makes the descent into the lower parts of the earth refer to Christ's descent to the earth from his preëxistent state in heaven, must be evident to every candid and well-informed mind. Irenæus, discussing this very text from Ephesians, exposes the absurdity and stigmatizes the *heresy* of those "qui dicunt inferas quidem esse hunc mundum." † "I knew a man caught up to the third heaven, ... caught up into paradise." The threefold heaven of the Jews, here alluded to, was, first, the region of the air, supposed to be inhabited by evil spirits. Paul repeatedly expresses this idea, as when he speaks of "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience," and when he says, "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness, against wicked spirits in hêavenly places." The second heaven comprised the region of the planetary bodies. The third lay beyond the firmament, and was the actual residence of God and the angelic hosts. These quotations, sustained as they are by the well-known previous opinions of the Jews, as well as by numerous unequivocal texts in the writings of the other Apostles, and by scores of additional ones in those of Paul, are conclusive evidence that he believed in the received heaven above the blue ether and stellar dome, and in the received Hadean abyss beneath the earth. In the absence of all evidence to the contrary,

* Enarratio in Psalmum XC.
† Irenæi Adversus Hæreses, Lib. V. cap. 31.

every presumption justifies the supposition that he also believed, as we know all his orthodox contemporaries did, that that under-world was the abode of all men after death, and that that over-world was solely the dwelling-place of God and the angels. Nay, we are not left to conjecture, for he expressly declares of God, that he "dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto." This conclusion will be abundantly established in the course of the following exposition.

With these preliminaries we are prepared to examine and see what was Paul's doctrine of death and of salvation. There are two prevalent theories on this subject, both of which we deem partly Scriptural, neither of them wholly so. On the one extreme, the consistent disciple of Augustine, the historic Calvinist, attributes to the Apostle the belief, that the sin of Adam was the sole cause of literal death, that but for Adam's fall men would have lived on the earth for ever, or else have been translated bodily to heaven without any previous process of death. That such really was not the view held by Paul we are perfectly convinced. Indeed, there is one prominent feature in his faith which by itself goes far to prove that the disengagement of the soul from the material frame did not seem to him an abnormal event, caused by the contingency of sin. We refer to his doctrine of two bodies, the "outward man" and the "inward man," the "earthly house" and the "heavenly house," the "natural body" and the "spiritual body." Neander says this is "an express assertion" of Paul's belief that man was not literally made mortal by sin, but was naturally destined to emerge from the flesh into a higher form of life.* There is no misgiving in our mind but Paul thought that, in the original plan of God, man was intended to drop his gross, corruptible body, and put on an incorruptible one, like the "glorious body" of the risen Christ. He even distinctly declares, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Therefore we cannot interpret the word "death" to mean *merely* the separation of the soul from its present tabernacle, when he says, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men."

* Planting and Training, Ryland's Translation, p. 240.

On the other extreme, the fully-developed Pelagian, and some Unitarians, hold that the word "death" is always used in the arguments of Paul in a spiritual or figurative sense, *merely* meaning moral alienation from God in guilt, misery, and despair. Undoubtedly it is used thus in many instances; as when it is written, "I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came, sin rose to life and I died." But in still more numerous cases it means, as seems beyond all question, something more than the consciousness of sin and its resulting wretchedness in the breast, and implies something external, mechanical, visible, as it were. For example: "Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead"; no one who reads the context of this sentence can fail to see that the terms "death" and "resurrection" antithetically balance each other, and refer not to an inward experience, but to an outward event, not to a moral change, but to the physical descent and resurrection. It is certain that here the words are not employed in a moral sense. The phraseology Paul uses in stating the connection of the sin of Adam with death, the connection of the resurrection of Christ with immortal life, is too peculiar, emphatic, and extensive, not to be loaded with a more general and vivid significance than the simple unhappiness of a sense of guilt, the simple peace and joy of a reconciled conscience. The advocates, then, of both theories, — the Calvinist asserting that Paul supposed sin to be the only reason why we do not live eternally in the world with our present organization, and the Rationalist asserting that the Apostle never employs the word "death" except with a purely interior signification, — are alike beset by insuperable difficulties, perplexed by passages which defy their fair analysis and force them either to use a violent interpretation or to confess their ignorance.

We must therefore seek out some third view, which, rejecting the errors, shall combine the truths, and supply the defects, of the two former. We have now to present such a view, — a theory of the Pauline doctrine of the last things which obviously explains and fills out all the related language of the Epistles. We suppose he unfolded it fully in his preaching, while in his supplementary and personal letters he only alludes to such dis-

connected parts of it as then rose upon his thoughts. A systematic development of it as a whole, with copious allusions and labored defences, was not needed then, as it might seem to us to have been. For the fundamental notions on which it rested were the common belief of the nation and age; geology and astronomy had not disturbed the credit of a definitely located hades and heaven, nor had free metaphysics sharpened the common mind to sceptical queries. The view itself, as we conceive it occupied the mind of Paul, is this. Death was a part of the creative plan for us from the first, simply loosing the spirit from its corruptible body, clothing it with an ethereal vehicle, and immediately translating it to heaven. Sin marred this plan, alienated us from the Divine favor, introduced all misery, physical and moral, and doomed the soul, upon the fall of its earthly house, to descend into the slumberous gloom of the under-world. Thus *death* was changed from a pleasant organic fulfilment and deliverance, spiritual investiture and heavenly ascent, to a painful punishment condemning the naked ghost to a residence below the grave. Herein is the explanation of the word "death," as used by Paul in reference to the consequence of Adam's offence. Christ came to reveal the free grace and gift of God in redeeming us from our doom and restoring our heavenly destiny. This he exemplified, in accordance with the Father's will, by dying, descending into the dreary world of the dead, vanquishing the forces there, rising thence, and ascending to the right hand of the throne of heaven as our forerunner. On the very verge of the theory just stated as Paul's, Neander hovers in his exposition of the Apostle's views, but fails to grasp its theological scope and consequences. Krabbe declares, that "death did not arise from the native perishableness of the body, but from sin."* This statement Neander controverts, maintaining that "sin introduced no essential change in the physical organization of man, only in the manner in which his earthly existence terminates: had it not been for sin, death would have been only the form of a higher development of life."† Exactly so, we say. With inno-

* Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Tode, von Dr. Otto Krabbe, elftes Cap., Seite 192.

† Neander's Planting and Training, Lib. VI. cap. 1.

cence, the soul at death would have ascended pleasantly, in a new body, to heaven; but sin compelled it to descend painfully, without any body, to hades. We will proceed to cite a few of the principal texts from which this general outline has been inferred and constructed.

The substance of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans may be thus stated. As by the offence of one, sin entered into the world, and the judgment of the law came upon all men in a sentence of condemnation unto death, so by the righteousness of one, the free gift of God came upon all men in a sentence of justification unto life; that as sin, by Adam's offence, hath reigned unto death, so grace, by Christ's righteousness, might reign unto eternal life. Here condemnation to death, — the curse entailed by Adam, — and justification to life, — the blessing brought by Christ, — are balanced against each other. The one term measures the contrasted meaning of the other. And here, as elsewhere, the implication unquestionably is, that what Adam incurred Christ removed, and what Adam forfeited Christ restored. Now we maintain that the words "death" and "life" cannot in the present instance be entirely explained in their spiritual sense, as signifying disturbance and woe in the breast, or peace and bliss there, because the whole connected discourse is not upon the internal contingent experience of individuals, but upon the common necessity of the race, an objective sentence passed upon humanity, followed by a public gift of reversal and annulment. So, too, we deny that the words can be justly taken in their strictly literal sense, as meaning cessation or continuance of physical existence on the earth, because, in the first place, that would be inconsistent with the doctrine of a spiritual body within the fleshly one, and of a glorious inheritance reserved in heaven, a doctrine by which Paul plainly shows that he recognized a natural organic provision, irrespective of sin, for a change in the form and locality of human existence. Secondly, we submit that death and life here cannot mean departure from the body or continuance in it, because that is a matter with which Christ's mission did in no way interfere, but left it exactly as it was before; whereas, in the thing really meant by Paul, Christ is represented as standing, at least partially, in the same relation between life and men, that Adam

stands in between death and men. The reply to the question, What is that relation? will at once define the genuine signification of the terms "death" and "life" in the instance under review. And thus we answer it. The death brought on mankind by Adam was not only internal wretchedness, but also the condemnation of the disembodied soul to the under-world: the life they were assured of by Christ was not only internal blessedness, but also the deliverance of the soul from its subterranean prison and its reception into heaven in a "body celestial," according to its original destiny had sin not befallen. Our interpretation is explicitly put forth by Theodoret in his comments on this same passage (Rom. v. 15–18). He says: "There must be a correspondence between the disease and the remedy. Adam's sin subjected him to the power of death and the tyranny of the Devil. In the same manner that Adam was compelled to descend into the under-world, we all are associates in his fate. Thus, when Christ rose, the whole humankind partook in his vivification." * Origen also — and who, after the Apostles themselves, knew their thoughts and their use of language so well as he? — emphatically declares, — in exposition of the expression of Paul, "the wages of sin is death," — that "the under-world in which souls are detained is called death." †

"As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." These words cannot be explained thus: "As in Adam the necessity of physical death came on all, so in Christ that necessity shall be removed"; because Christ's mission did not touch physical death, which was still reigning as ever before Paul's eyes. Neither can the passage signify, "As through Adam wretchedness is the portion of every heart of man, so through Christ blessedness shall be given to every heart"; because, while the language itself does not hint that thought, the context demonstrates that the real reference is not to an inward experience, but to an outward event, not to the personal regeneration of the soul, but to a general resurrection of the dead. The time referred to is the second coming of Christ; and the force of the text must be this: As by

* Impatib., Dialogue III. pp. 132, 133, ed. Sirmondi.
† Comm. in Epist. ad Rom., Lib. VI. cap. 6, sect. 6.

our bodily likeness to the first man and genetic connection with him through sin we all die like him, that is, leave the body and go into the under-world, and remain there; so by our spiritual likeness to the second man, and redeeming connection with him through the free grace of God, we shall all rise thence like him revived and restored. Adam was the head of a condemned race doomed to hades by the visible occurrence of death in lineal descent from him; Christ, the head of a pardoned race destined for heaven in consonance with the plain token of his resurrection and ascension. Again, the Apostle writes: "In the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we (who are then living) shall be changed; for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality. Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O Death, where is thy sting? O Hades, where is thy victory?'" The writer evidently exults in the thought, that at the second coming of Christ death shall lose its retributive character, and the under-world be baffled of its expected prisoners, because the living shall instantly experience the change of bodies fitting them to ascend to heaven with the returning and triumphant Lord. Paul also announces that "Jesus Christ hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light." The word "death" here cannot mean physical dissolution, because Christ did not abolish that. It cannot denote personal sin and unhappiness, because that would not correspond with and sustain the obvious meaning of the contrasted member of the sentence. Its adequate and consistent sense is this. God intended that man should pass from a preliminary existence on earth to an eternal life in heaven; but sin thwarted this glorious design, and altered our fate to a banishment into the cheerless under-world. But now, by the teachings and resurrection of Christ, we are assured that God of his infinite goodness has determined freely to forgive us and restore our original destination. Our descent and abode below are abolished, and our heavenly immortality made clear. We will cite only one more passage in this connection. Paul writes to the Corinthians: "We earnestly desire to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that,

being clothed, we shall not be found naked. Not that we desire to be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life." In these remarkable words the Apostle expresses several particulars of what we have already presented as his general doctrine. He states his conviction, that, when his "earthly house of this tabernacle" dissolves, there is a "divinely constructed, heavenly, and eternal house" prepared for him. He expresses his desire, at the coming of the Lord, not to be dead, but still living, and then to be divested of his earthly body and invested with the heavenly body, that thus being fitted for translation to the incorruptible kingdom of God, he might not be found a naked shadow or ghost in the under-world. Ruckert says, in his commentary, and the best critics all agree with him: "Paul herein desires to become immortal without passing the gates of death." Language similar to the foregoing in its peculiar phrases is found in the Jewish Cabbala. The Zohar describes the ascent of the soul to heaven clothed with splendor, and afterwards illustrates its meaning in these terms: "As there is given to the soul a garment with which she is clothed in order to establish her in this world, so there is given her a garment of heavenly splendor in order to establish her in that world." * So in the "Ascension of Isaiah the Prophet," — an apocryphal book written by some Jewish Christian as early, without possible doubt, as the close of the second century, — the following passages occur. Speaking of what was revealed to him in heaven the prophet says: "There I saw all the saints, from Adam, without the clothing of the flesh: I viewed them in their heavenly clothing like the angels who stood there in great splendor." Again he says: "All the saints from heaven in their heavenly clothing shall descend with the Lord and dwell in this world, while the saints who have not died shall be clothed like those who come from heaven. Then the general resurrection will take place, and they will ascend together to heaven." † Schoettgen, commenting on this text (2 Cor. v. 2) likewise quotes a large number of examples of like phraseology, from Rabbinical writers. The state-

* Lawrence's Ascensio Isaiæ Vatis, Appendix, p. 168.
† Ibid., cap. 9, v. 7, 9; cap. 4.

ments so far made and proofs offered will be repeatedly and amply illustrated and confirmed as we now go on to consider the chief component parts of the Pauline scheme of the last things. For, having presented the general outline, it will be useful, in treating so complex and difficult a theme, to analyze it by examining its details.

We are met upon the threshold of our inquiry by the broad and essential question, What, according to Paul, was the mission of Christ? What did he accomplish? A clear and adequate reply to this question comprises three distinct propositions, which we proceed to state in order, and to establish. First, the Apostle plainly represents the resurrection, and not the crucifixion, as the efficacious feature in Christ's work of redemption. When we recollect the almost universal prevalence of the opposite notion among existing sects, it is astonishing how clear it is that Paul generally dwells upon the dying of Christ solely as the necessary preliminary to his rising. "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith also is vain; ye are yet in your sins." These words are irreconcilable with that doctrine which connects our "justification" with the atoning death, and not with the typical resurrection, of Christ. "That Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day." To place a vicarious stress upon the first clause of this text is as arbitrary as it would be to place it upon the second; but naturally emphasize the third clause, and all is clear. The weighty inferences and practical exhortations drawn from the mission of Christ are not usually connected in any essential manner with his painful death, but directly with his glorious resurrection out from among the dead below unto the heavenly blessedness. "If we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection." Sinking into the water, when "buried by baptism into the death of Christ," was to those initiated into the Christian religion a symbol of the descent of Christ among the dead; rising out of the water was a symbol of the ascent of Christ into heaven. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God." When Paul cries exultingly, "Thanks be to God, who through Christ giveth us the victory over

the sting of death, and the strength of sin," Jerome says, "We cannot and dare not interpret this victory otherwise than by the *resurrection* of the Lord."* Commenting on the text, "To this end Christ both died and lived again, that he might reign both over the dead and the living," Theodoret says, that Christ, going through all these events, "promised a resurrection to us all." Paul makes no appeal to us to believe in the death of Christ, to believe in the atoning sacrifice of Christ, but he unequivocally affirms, "If thou shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Paul conceived that Christ died in order to rise again and convince men that the Father would freely deliver them from the bondage of death in the under-world. All this took place on account of sin, was only made requisite by sin, one of whose consequences was the subterranean confinement of the soul, which otherwise, upon deserting its clayey tent, would immediately have been clothed with a spiritual body and have ascended to heaven. That is to say, Christ "was delivered because of our offences, and was raised again because of our justification." In Romans viii. 10, the preposition διά occurs twice in exactly the same construction as in the text just quoted. In the latter case the authors of the common version have rendered it "because of." They should have done so in the other instance, in accordance with the natural force and established usage of the word. The meaning is: Our offences had been committed, therefore Christ was delivered into hades; our pardon had been decreed, therefore Christ was raised into heaven. Such as we have now stated is the real material which has been distorted and exaggerated into the Calvinistic doctrine of the vicarious atonement, with all its dread concomitants. The believers of that doctrine suppose themselves obliged to accept it by the language of the Epistles. But the view above maintained as that of Paul, solves every difficulty, and gives an intelligible and consistent meaning to all the phrases usually thought to legitimate the Calvinistic scheme of redemption. While we deny the correctness of the Calvinistic interpretation of those passa-

* Comm. in Osee, Lib. III. cap. 13.

ges in which occur such expressions as "Christ gave himself for us," "died for our sins," we freely admit the inadequacy of the explanations of them which have been proposed by some Unitarians, and assert that their genuine force is this: Christ died and rose that we might be freed through faith from the great entailed consequence of sin, the bondage of the under-world; beholding through his ascension our heavenly destination restored. "God made him who knew no sin to be sin on our account, that we might become the righteousness of God in him," might through faith in him be assured of salvation. In other words, Christ, who was not exposed to the evils brought on men by sin, did not think his divine estate a thing eagerly to be retained, but descended to the estate of man, underwent the penalties of sin as if he were himself a sinner, and then rose to the right hand of God, by this token to assure men of God's gracious determination to forgive them and reinstate them in their forfeited primal privileges. "If we be reconciled by his death, much more shall we be saved by his life." That is, if Christ's coming from heaven as an ambassador from God to die, convinces us of God's pardoning good-will towards us, much more does his rising again into heaven, where he now lives, deliver us from the fear of the under-world condemnation, and assure us of the heavenly salvation. Except in the light and with the aid of the theory we have been urging, a large number of texts like the foregoing cannot be interpreted without constructive violence, and even with that violence cannot convey their full point and power.

Secondly, in Paul's doctrine of the redeeming work of Christ we recognize something distinct from any subjective effect in animating and purifying the hearts and lives of men. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." "In Christ we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins." Nothing but the most desperate and outrageous exegesis can make these and many similar texts signify simply the purging of individual breasts from their offences and guilt. Seeking the genuine meaning of Paul himself, regardless of consequences, we are forced to agree with the overwhelming majority of the critics and believers of all Christendom, from the very times of the Apostles till now, and

declare that these passages refer to an outward deliverance of men by Christ, the removal by him of a common doom resting on the race in consequence of sin. What Paul supposed that doom was, and how he thought it was removed, we will now show. It is necessary to premise, that in Paul's writings the phrase "the righteousness of God" is often used by metonymy to mean God's mode of counting sinners righteous, and is equivalent to "the Christian method of salvation." "By the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified, but the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, freely justifying them through the redemption that is in Christ." How evidently in this verse "the righteousness of God" denotes God's method of justifying the guilty by a free pardon proclaimed through Christ! The Apostle employs the word "faith" in a kindred technical manner, sometimes meaning by it "promise," sometimes the whole evangelic apparatus used to establish faith or prove the realization of the promise. "What if some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?" Evidently by "faith" is intended "promise" or "purpose." "Is the law against the promises of God? God forbid! But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed." Here "faith" plainly means "the manifested fulfilment of the promises," — it means the Gospel. Again: "Whereof he hath offered faith to all, in that he hath raised him from the dead." "Hath offered faith" here signifies unquestionably, as the common version well expresses it, "hath given assurance," or hath exemplified the proof. "Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." In this instance "faith" certainly means Christianity, in contradistinction to Judaism, and "justification by faith" is equivalent to "salvation by the grace of God, shown through the mission of Christ." It is not so much internal and individual in its reference, as it is public and general. We do believe that no candid man, sacredly resolved to admit the truth, can study, with a purposed reference to this point, all the passages in Paul's Epistles where the word "faith" occurs, without being perfectly

convinced that, for the most part, it is used in an objective sense, in contradistinction to the law, as synonymous with the Gospel, the new dispensation of grace. And so "justification by faith" does not usually mean salvation through personal belief, either in the merits of the Redeemer or in any thing else, but means salvation by the plan revealed in the Gospel, which is the free remission of sins by the forbearance of God. In those instances where "faith" is used in a subjective sense for personal belief, it is never described as the effectual *cause* of salvation, but as the condition of personal *assurance* of salvation. Grace has outwardly come to all, but only the believers inwardly know it. This Pauline use of terms in technical senses lies broadly on the face of the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. New Testament lexicons and commentaries, by the best scholars of every denomination, acknowledge it and illustrate it. Mark now these texts. "And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." "To declare his righteousness, that he might be just and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." "What things were gain to me (under Judaism) I counted loss in comparison with Christ, that I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God through faith in Christ." "By the deeds of the law no man can be justified," — "but ye are saved through faith." We submit that all these passages, and very many others in the Epistles, find a perfect explanation in the following outline of faith, commenced in the mind of Paul while he was a Pharisee, completed when he was a Christian. The righteousness of the law, the method of salvation by keeping the law, is impossible. The sin of the first man broke that whole plan, and doomed all souls helplessly to the under-world. If a man now should keep every tittle of the law without reservation, it would not release him from the bondage below and secure for him an ascent to heaven. But what the law could not do is done for us in Christ. Sin having destroyed the righteousness of the law, that is, the fatal penalty of hades having rendered salvation by the law impossible, the righteousness of God, that is, a new method of salva-

tion, has been brought to light. God has sent his Son to die, descend into the under-world, rise again, and return to heaven, to proclaim to men the glorious tidings of justification by faith, that is, a dispensation of grace freely annulling the great consequence of sin, and inviting them to heaven in the Redeemer's footsteps. Paul most unequivocally declares that Christ broke up the bondage of the under-world by his irresistible entrance and exit, in the following text: "When he had descended first into the lower parts of the earth, he ascended up on high, leading a multitude of captives." What can be plainer than that! The same thought is also contained in another passage, a passage which was the source of those tremendous pictures, so frequent in the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, — *Christus spoliat Infernum*: "God hath forgiven you all trespasses, blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, and took it away, nailing it to Christ's cross; and having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them, openly triumphing over them in Christ." The entire theory which underlies the exposition we have just set forth, is stated in so many words in the passage we are now about to cite. For the word "righteousness" — in order to make the meaning more perspicuous — we simply substitute "method of salvation," which is unquestionably its signification here. "They [the Jews], being ignorant of God's method of salvation, and going about to establish their own method, have not submitted themselves unto God's. For Christ is the end of the law for a way of salvation to every one that believeth. For Moses describeth the method of salvation which is of the law, that the man who *doeth* these things shall be blessed in them. But the method of salvation which is of faith ["faith" here means the Gospel, Christianity] speaketh on this wise: Say not in thy heart, 'Who shall ascend into heaven?' that is, to bring Christ down. Or, 'Who shall descend into the under-world?' that is, to bring up Christ again from among the dead." This has been done already, once for all. "And if thou shalt believe in thine heart that God *hath* raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." The Apostle avows that his "heart's desire and his prayer unto God for Israel is, that they may be saved"; and he asserts that they cannot be

saved by the Law of Moses, but only by the Gospel of Christ, that is, "Faith," that is, the "Dispensation of Grace."

Paul's conception of the foremost and essential feature in Christ's mission is precisely this. He came to deliver men from the stern law of Judaism, which could not wipe away their transgressions nor save them from hades, and to establish them in the free grace of Christianity, which justifies them from all past sin and seals them for heaven. What could be a more explicit declaration of our assertion than the following? "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son to redeem them that were under the law." Herein is the explanation of that fierce and perilous combat which Paul waged so many years, and in which he proved victorious, — the great battle between the Gentile and the Judaizing Christians; a subject of altogether singular importance, without a minute acquaintance with which a very large part of the New Testament cannot be understood. "Christ gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God." Now the Hebrew terms corresponding with the English terms "present world" and "future world" were used by the Jews to denote the Mosaic and the Messianic dispensations. We believe — with Schoettgen and other good authorities — that such is the sense of the phrase "present world" in the instance before us. Not only is that interpretation sustained by the *usus loquendi.* It is also the only defensible meaning; for the effect of the establishment of the Gospel was not to deliver men from the present world, though it did deliver them from the hopeless bondage of Judaism, wherein salvation was impossible. And that is precisely the argument of the whole Epistle to the Galatians, in which the text occurs. In a succeeding chapter, while speaking expressly of the external forms of the Jewish law, Paul says, "By the cross of Christ the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world"; and he instantly adds, by way of explanation, "for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision." Undeniably, "world" here means "Judaism"; as Rosenmüller says, *Judaica vanitas.* In another Epistle, while expostulating with his readers on the folly

of subjecting themselves to observances "in meat and drink, and new moons and sabbaths," after "the handwriting of ordinances that was against them had been blotted out, taken away, nailed to the cross," Paul remonstrates with them in these words: "Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances?" We should suppose that no intelligent person could question that this means, "Now that by the Gospel of Christ ye are emancipated from the technical requisitions of Judaism, why are ye subject to its ordinances, as if ye were still living under its rule?" — so many of the best commentators agree in saying, "*tanquam viventes adhuc in Judaismo.*" From these collective passages, and others like them, we draw the conclusion in Paul's own words, that, "When we were children, we were in bondage under the rudiments of the world," "the weak and beggarly elements" of Judaism, but now that "the fulness of the time has come, and God has sent forth his Son to redeem us," we are called "to receive the adoption of sons," and "become heirs of God," inheritors of a heavenly destiny.

We think that every intelligent and candid reader, who is familiar with Paul's Epistles, will at once recognize the following features in his belief and teaching. First, all mankind alike were under sin and condemnation. "Jews and Gentiles all are under sin." "All the world is subject to the sentence of God." And we maintain that that condemning sentence consisted, partly at least, in the banishment of their disembodied souls to hades. Secondly, "a promise was given to Abraham," before the introduction of the Mosaic dispensation, "that in his seed [that is, in Christ] all the nations of the earth should be blessed." When Paul speaks, as he does in numerous instances, of "the hope of eternal life which God, who cannot lie, promised before the world began," "the promise given before the foundation of the world," "the promise made of God unto the fathers, that God would raise the dead," the date referred to is not when the decree was formed in the eternal counsels of God, previous to the origin of the earth, but when the covenant was made with Abraham, before the establishment of the Jewish dispensation. The thing prom-

ised very plainly was, according to Paul's idea, a redemption from hades and an ascension to heaven, for this is fully implied in his "expectation of the resurrection of the dead" from the intermediate state, and their being "clothed in celestial bodies." This promise made unto Abraham by God, to be fulfilled by Christ, "the law, which was four hundred and thirty years afterwards, could not disannul." That is, — as any one must see by the context, — the law could not secure the inheritance of the thing promised, but was only a temporary arrangement on account of transgressions, "until the seed should come to whom the promise was made." In other words, there was "no mode of salvation by the law"; "the law could not give life," for if it could it would have "superseded the promise," made it without effect, whereas the inviolable promise of God was, that in the one seed of Abraham, that is, in Christ, alone should salvation be preached to all that believed. "For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made useless, and the promise is made useless." In the mean time, until Christ be come, all are shut up under sin. Thirdly, the special "advantage of the Jews was, that unto them this promise of God was committed," as the chosen covenant people. The Gentiles, groaning and lost under the universal burden and sentence of sin, were ignorant of the sure promise of a common salvation yet to be brought. While the Jews indulged in glowing and exclusive expectations of the Messiah who was gloriously to redeem them, the Gentiles were "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world." Fourthly, in the fulness of time — long after "the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen, had preached the Gospel beforehand unto Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed" — "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, that the blessing promised to Abraham might come upon the Gentiles." It was the precise mission of Christ to realize and exemplify and publish to the whole world the fulfilment of the promise. The promise itself was, that men should be released from the under-world through the imputation of righteousness by grace, that is, through free forgiveness, and rise to heaven as accredited sons

and heirs of God. This aim and purpose of Christ's coming were effected in his resurrection. But how did the Gentiles enter into belief and participation of the glad tidings? Thus, according to Paul: The death, descent, resurrection, and ascent of Jesus, and his residence in heaven in a spiritual form, divested him of his nationality. He was "then to be known no more after the flesh." He was no longer an earthly Jew, addressing Jews, but a heavenly spirit and son of God, a glorified likeness of the spirits of all who were adopted as sons of God, appealing to them all as joint heirs with himself of heaven. He has risen into universality, and is accessible to the soul of every one that believeth. "In him there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free." The experience resulting in a heart raised into fellowship with him in heaven is the inward seal assuring us that our faith is not vain. "Ye Gentiles, who formerly were afar off, are now made nigh by the blood of Christ; for he hath broken down the middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, namely, the law of commandments in ordinances, in order to make in himself of twain one new man. For through him we both have access by one spirit unto the Father. Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God." Circumcision was of the flesh, and the vain hope of salvation by it was confined to the Jews. Grace was of the spirit, and the revealed assurance of salvation by it was given to the Gentiles too, when Christ died to the nationalizing flesh, rose in the universalizing spirit, and from heaven impartially exhibited himself, through the preaching of the Gospel, to the appropriating faith of all.

Were there room in this article, we should further substantiate the foregoing positions by applying the general theory they contain to the explication of scores of individual texts, which it minutely fits and broadly unfolds, and which cannot upon any other view be sharply interpreted, nor indeed interpreted at all, upon any other view, without forced constructions, unwarranted by a thorough acquaintance with the mind of Paul and with the mind of his age. But we must be content with one or two such applications as specimens. The word "mys-

tery" often occurs in the letters of Paul. Its current meaning in his time was something concealed, into which one must be initiated in order to understand it. The Eleusinian Mysteries, for instance, were not necessarily any thing intrinsically dark and hard to be comprehended, but things hidden from public gaze, and only to be known by initiation into them. Paul uses the term in a similar way to denote the peculiar scheme of grace, which "had been kept secret from the beginning of the world," "hidden from ages and generations, but now made manifest." No one denies that Paul means by "this mystery" the very heart and essence of the Gospel, precisely that which distinguishes it from the law, and makes it a universal method of salvation, a wondrous system of grace. So much is irresistibly evident from the way and the connection in which he uses the term. Now he writes thus in explanation of the great mystery as it was dramatically revealed through Christ: "Who was manifested in the flesh [i. e. seen in the body during his life on earth], justified in the spirit [i. e. freed after death from the necessity of imprisonment in hades], seen of angels [i. e. in their fellowship after his resurrection], preached unto the Gentiles [i. e. after the gift of tongues on Pentecost day], believed on in the world [i. e. his Gospel widely accepted through the labors of his disciples], received up into glory [i. e. taken into heaven to the presence of God]." "The revelation of the mystery" means, then, we assert, the visible enactment and exhibition, through the resurrection of Christ, of God's free forgiveness of men, redeeming them from the hadean gloom to the heavenly glory. The word "glory" in the New Testament confessedly often signifies the illumination of heaven, the defined abode of God and his angels. Robinson collects, in his Lexicon, numerous examples, wherein he says it means "that state which is the portion of those who dwell with God in heaven." Now Paul repeatedly speaks of the calling of believers to glory as one of the chief blessings and new prerogatives of the Gospel. "Being justified by faith, we rejoice in hope of the glory of God." "Walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his glory." "We speak wisdom to the initiates, the hidden wisdom of God in a mystery, which before the world [the Jewish dispensation] God

ordained for our glory." "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God: behold, I show you a mystery; we shall all be changed in a moment, and put on immortality." In the first chapter of the letter to the Colossians, Paul speaks of "the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye have heard in the Gospel"; also of "the inheritance of the saints in light"; then he says, "God would now make known among the Gentiles the mystery, which is, Christ among you, the hope of glory." In the light of what has gone before, how significant and how clear is this declaration! "All have sinned, and failed to attain unto the glory of God; but now, through the faith of Jesus Christ [through the dispensation brought to light by Christ], the righteousness of God [God's method of salvation] is unto all that believe." That is, by the law all were shut up in hades, but by grace they are now ransomed and to be received to heaven. The same thought or scheme is contained in that remarkable passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, where Paul says the free Isaac and the bond-woman Hagar were an allegory, teaching that there are two covenants, one by Abraham, the other by Moses. The Mosaic covenant of the law "answers to the Jerusalem which is on earth, and is in bondage with her children," and belongs only to the Jews. The Abrahamic covenant of promise answers to "the Jerusalem which is above, and is free, and is the mother of us all." In the former, we were "begotten unto bondage." In the latter, "Christ hath made us free." We will notice but one more text in passing; it is, of all the proof-texts of the doctrine of a substitutional expiation, the one which has ever been regarded as the very Achilles. And yet it can be made to support that doctrine only by the aid of arbitrary assumptions and mistranslations, while by its very terms it perfectly coincides with, nay, expressly declares, the theory which we have been advocating as the genuine interpretation of Paul. The Calvinistic commentators, in their treatment of this passage, have been guilty of a long-continued series of utter perversions and sophisms, affording the strongest example of the most glaring, inexcusable, and determined prejudice that ever came within our observation. The correct Greek reading of the text is justly rendered thus: "Whom God set

forth, a mercy-seat through the faith in his blood, to exhibit his righteousness through the remission of former sins by the forbearance of God." For rendering ἱλαστήριον "mercy-seat," the *usus loquendi* and the internal harmony of meaning are in our favor; and also the weight of the best Orthodox authorities, such as Theodoret, Origen, Theophylact, Œcumenius, Erasmus, Luther, and even Olshausen, to say nothing of the entire army of liberal critics, from Pelagius to De Wette. For rendering διά "through," no defence is needed; the only wonder is, how it ever could have been here translated "for." Now let two or three facts be noticed. First, the New Testament phrase "the faith of Christ," "the faith of Jesus," is very unfairly and unwarrantably made to mean an internal affection towards Christ, a belief of men in him. Its obvious, genuine meaning is the same as "the Gospel of Christ," or the religion of Christ, the system of grace which he brought.* So, in the text now under our notice, "the faith which is in his blood" means the dispensation of pardon and justification, the system of faith which was confirmed and exemplified to us in his death and resurrection. Secondly, "the righteousness of God," which is here said to be "pointed out" by Christ's death, denotes simply, as no candid student can possibly fail to see, in Professor Stuart's words, "God's pardoning mercy," or "acquittal," or "gratuitous justification." "In which sense," he says truly, "it is almost always used in Paul's Epistles." † It signifies neither more nor less than God's method of salvation by freely forgiving sins and treating the sinner as if he were righteous; the method of salvation now carried into effect and revealed in the Gospel brought by Christ, and dramatically enacted in his passion and ascension. Thirdly, we ask attention to the fact, that the Calvinist, hard pressed by his unscriptural creed, interpolates a disjunctive conjunction in the opposing teeth of Paul's plain statement. Paul says, as the common version has it, God is "just, and [i. e. even] the justifier." The creed-bound commentators read it, "just and *yet* the justifier." We will now pre-

* Robinson has gathered a great number of instances in his Lexicon, under the word "Faith," wherein it can only mean, as he says, "the system of Christian doctrines, the Gospel."

† See Stuart's Romans, i. 17; iii. 25, 26, etc.

sent, in brief explanation, the true meaning of the whole passage according to Paul's own use of language. To establish a conviction of the correctness of our exposition, we only ask the ingenuous reader carefully to study the clauses of the Greek text, and recollect the foregoing data. "God has set Christ forth, to be to us a sure sign that we have been forgiven and redeemed through the faith that was proved by his triumph from death, the dispensation of grace inaugurated by him. Herein God has exhibited his method of saving sinners, which is, by the free remission of their sins through his kindness. Thus God is proved to be disposed to save, and to be saving, by the system of grace shown through Jesus, him that believeth." In consequence of sin, men were under sentence of condemnation to the under-world. In the fulness of time God fulfilled his ancient promise to Abraham. He freely justified men, that is, forgave them, redeemed them from their doom, and would soon open the sky for their abode with him. This whole scheme of redemption was carried out in Christ. That is to say, God proclaimed it to men, and asked their belief in it, by "setting forth Christ" to die, descend among the dead, rise thence, and ascend into heaven, as an exemplifying certification of the truth of the glad tidings.

Thirdly, Paul teaches that one aim of Christ's mission was to purify, animate, and exalt the moral characters of men, and rectify their conduct; to produce a subjective sanctification in them, and so prepare them for judgment, and fit them for heaven. The establishment of this proposition will conclude the present part of our subject. He writes that "Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." In various ways he often represents the fact that believers have been saved by grace through Christ as the very reason, the intensified motive, why they should scrupulously keep every tittle of the moral law, and abstain even from the appearance of evil, walking worthy of their high vocation. "The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared, teaching us that, denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

Bad men, "that obey not the Gospel of Christ," — such characters as "thieves, extortioners, drunkards, adulterers, — shall not inherit the kingdom of God." He proclaims in deliberate and unmistakable terms, "God will render to every man according to his deeds, wrath and tribulation to the evil-doer, honor and peace to the well-doer, whether Jew or Gentile." The conclusion to be drawn from these and other like declarations is clear, and absolutely unavoidable. It is that "every one, Jew and Gentile, shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and receive according to the deeds done in the body, for there is no respect of persons." And one part of Christ's mission was to exert a hallowing moral influence on men, to make them righteous, that they might pass the bar with acquittal. But the reader who recollects the class of texts adduced a little while since, will remember that an opposite conclusion was as unequivocally drawn from them. Then Paul said, "By faith ye are justified, without the deeds of the law." Now he says, "For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ." Is there a contradiction, then, in Paul? Only in appearance. Let us distinguish and explain. In the two quotations above, the Apostle is referring to two different things. First, he would say, by the faith of Christ, the free grace of God declared in the Gospel of Christ, ye are justified, gratuitously delivered from that necessity of imprisonment in hades which is the penalty of sin doomed upon the whole race from Adam, and from which no amount of personal virtue could avail to save men. Secondly, when he exclaims, "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" his thought is of a spiritual qualification of character, indispensable for positive admission among the blest in heaven. That is to say, the impartial penalty of primeval sin consigned all men to hades. They could not by their own efforts escape thence and win heaven. That fated inability God has removed, and through Christ revealed its removal; but that one should actually obtain the offered and possible prize of heaven, personal purity, faith, obedience, holiness, are necessary. In Paul's conception of the scheme of Christian salvation, then,

there were two distinct parts; one, what God had done for all; the other, what each man was to do for himself. And the two great classes of seemingly hostile texts filling his Epistles, and which have puzzled so many readers, become clear and harmonious when we perceive and remember that by "righteousness" and its kindred terms he sometimes means the external and fulfilled method of redeeming men from the transmitted necessity of bondage in the under-world, and sometimes means the internal and contingent qualifications for actually realizing that redemption. In the former instance he refers to the objective mode of salvation, and the revelation of it in Christ. In the latter, he refers to the subjective fitness for that salvation, and certitude of it in the believer. So, too, the words "death" and "life," in Paul's writings, are generally charged, by a *constructio prægnans*, with a double sense, one spiritual, individual, contingent; the other mechanical, common, absolute. Death, in its full Pauline force, includes inward guilt, condemnation, and misery, and outward descent into the under-world. Life, in its full Pauline force, includes inward rectitude, peace, and joy, and outward ascent into the upper-world. Holiness is necessary, "for without it no one can see the Lord"; yet, by itself, it can secure only inward life, it is ineffectual to win heaven. Grace, by itself, merely exempts from the fatality of the condemnation to hades; it offers eternal life in heaven only upon condition of "patient continuance in well-doing" by "faith, obedience to the truth, and sanctification of the spirit." But God's free grace and man's diligent fidelity combined, actually give the full fruition of blessedness in the heart, and of glory and immortality in the sky.

Such, as we have set forth in the foregoing three divisions, was Paul's view of the mission of Christ and the method of salvation. It has been only through patient living, by study and imagination, in the religion, philosophy, and circumstances of his age, that we have succeeded, to our own conviction at least, with vast pains in reproducing and constructing it. It has been now for these many centuries perverted and mutilated. Our toil has been with unprejudiced inspection to bring it forward in its genuine completeness, as it stood in the first century in Paul's own mind, and in the belief of his contemporaries.

The essential view, epitomized in a single sentence, is this. The independent grace of God has interfered, first, to save man from hades, and secondly, to enable him, by the coöperation of his own virtue, to get to heaven. Here are two separate things, means conjoined to effect the end, salvation. Now compare, in the light of this statement, the three great theological theories of Christendom. The common UNITARIAN, overlooking the objective justification, or offered redemption from the death-realm to the sky-home, which, whether it be a truth or an error, is surely there in the Epistles, makes the subjective sanctification all in all. The thorough CALVINIST, in his theory, scorns the subjective sanctification, which Paul insists on as a necessity for entering the kingdom of God, and, having perverted the objective justification from its real historic meaning, exaggerates it into the all in all. The ROMAN CATHOLIC holds that Christ simply removed the load of original sin and its entailed doom, and thus left each person to stand or fall by his own merits, in the communion of the Church. He also maintains that a part of Christ's office was to exert an influence for the moral improvement and consecration of human character. His error, as an interpreter of Paul's thought, is, that he too, like the Calvinist, attributes to Christ's death a vicarious efficacy, by suffering the pangs of mankind's guilt to buy their ransom from the inexorable justice of God, whereas the Apostle really represents Christ's redeeming mission as consisting simply in a dramatic exemplification of the Father's spontaneous love and purpose to pardon past offences, unbolt the gates of hades, and receive the worthy to heaven. Moreover, while Paul describes the heavenly salvation as an undeserved gift from the grace of God, the Catholic often seems to make it a prize to be earned, under the Christian dispensation, by good works which may fairly challenge that reward. However, we have little doubt that this apparent opposition is rather in the practical mode of exhortation than in any interior difference of dogma; for Paul himself makes personal salvation hinge on personal conditions, the province of grace being seen in the new extension to man of the opportunity and invitation to secure his own acceptance. And so the Roman Catholic exposition of Paul is much more

nearly correct than any other interpretation now prevalent. We should expect, *a priori*, that it would be, since that Church contains over two thirds of Christendom, and is by far the most intimately connected, by its scholars, members, and traditions, with the Apostolic age.

A prominent feature in the belief of Paul, and one deserving distinct notice, as necessarily involving a considerable part of the theory which we have attributed to him, is the supposition that Christ was the first person, clothed with humanity and experiencing death, admitted into heaven. Of all the hosts who had lived and died, every soul had gone down into the dusky and dream-like under-world. There they all were held in durance, waiting for the Great Deliverer. In the splendors of the realm over the sky, God and his angels dwelt alone. That we do not err in ascribing this belief to Paul, we might summon the whole body of the Fathers to testify in almost unbroken phalanx, from old Polycarp to St. Bernard. The entire Roman, Greek, and English Churches still maintain the same dogma. But the Apostle's own very plain words will be sufficient for our purpose. "That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from among the dead." "Now is Christ risen from among the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept." "He is the beginning, the first-born from among the dead, that among all he might have the pre-eminence." "God raised Christ from among the dead, and set him at his own right hand* in the heavenly places, far above every principality, and power, and might, and dominion." The last words refer to different orders of spirits, supposed by the Jews to people the aerial region below the heaven of God. "God hath" (already in our anticipating faith) "raised us up together with Christ, and made us sit in heavenly places with him." These testimonies are enough to show that Paul believed Jesus to have been raised up to the abode of God, the first man ever exalted thither, and that this was done as a pledge and illustration of the same occurrence

* Griesbach argues at length, and shows unanswerably, that this passage cannot bear a moral interpretation, but necessarily has a physical and local sense. See Griesbachii Opuscula Academica, ed. Gabler, Vol. II. pp. 145–149.

awaiting those that believe. "If we be dead with Christ, we believe we shall also live with him." And the Apostle teaches, that we are not only connected with Christ's resurrection by the outward order and sequence of events, but also by an inward gift of the spirit. He says, that to every obedient believer is given an experimental "knowledge of the power of the resurrection of Christ," which is the seal of God within him, the pledge of his own celestial destination. "After that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession." The office of this gift of the spirit is to awaken in the believing Christian a vivid realization of the things in store for him, and a perfect conviction that he shall yet possess them in the unclouded presence of God, beyond the canopy of azure and the stars. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But he hath revealed them unto us, for we have received his spirit that we might know them." "The spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children and heirs of God, even joint heirs with Christ, that we may be glorified [i. e. advanced into heaven] with him."

We will leave this topic with a brief paraphrase of the celebrated passage in the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. "Not only do the generality of mankind groan in pain in this decaying state, under the bondage of perishable elements, travailing for emancipation from the flesh into the liberty of the heavenly glory appointed for the sons and heirs of God, but even we, who have the first fruits of the spirit, [i. e. the assurance springing from the resurrection of Christ,] we too wait, painfully longing for the adoption, that is, our redemption from the body." By longing for the adoption, or filiation, is meant, impatient desire to be received into heaven as children, to the enjoyment of the privileges of their Father's house. "God predetermined that those called should be conformed to the image of his Son [i. e. should pass through the same course with Christ and reach the heavenly goal], that he might be the first-born among many brethren." To the securing of this end, "whom he called, them also he justified [i. e. ransomed

from hades*]; and whom he justified, them he also glorified [i. e. advanced to the glory of heaven]."

It must be evident to every one not blinded by prejudice, that Paul looked for the speedy second-coming of the Lord in the clouds of heaven, with angels, and power, and glory. He expected that at that time the wicked and all enemies would be overthrown and punished, the dead would be raised, and the living would be changed, and all that were Christ's would be translated to heaven.† "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and obey not the Gospel of Christ." "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, at the last trump." "We who are alive and remain until the coming of the Lord shall not anticipate those that are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God;‡ and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so we shall always be with the Lord. Brethren, you need not that I should specify the time to you, for yourselves are perfectly aware that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." "The time is short." "I pray God your whole spirit, soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." "At his appearing he shall judge the living and the dead." "The Lord is at hand." The author of these sentences undeniably looked daily for the great advent. Than Paul, indeed,

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* That "justify" often means, in Paul's usage, to absolve from hades, we have concluded from a direct study of his doctrines and language. We find that Bretschneider gives it the same definition in his Lexicon of the New Testament. See δικαιόω.

† "Every one shall rise in his own division" of the great army of the dead: "Christ, the first-fruits; afterwards, they that are Christ's, at his coming."

‡ Rabbi Akiba says, in the Talmud: "God shall take and blow a trumpet, a thousand godlike yards in length, whose echo shall sound from end to end of the world. At the first blast the earth shall tremble. At the second, the dust shall part. At the third, the bones shall come together. At the fourth, the members shall grow warm. At the fifth, they shall be crowned with the head. At the sixth, the soul shall reënter the body. And at the seventh, they shall stand erect." See Corrodi's Geschichte Chiliasmus, Band erst, Seite 355.

no one more earnestly believed himself, or did more to strengthen in others that belief in the speedy return of Christ, which thrilled all early Christendom with hope and dread, and kept the disciples day and night on the stretch and start of expectation to hear the awful blast of the judgment trump, and to see the glorious vision of the Son of God descending amidst a convoy of angels.

The resurrection which Paul thought would attend the second coming of Christ, was the rising of the summoned spirits of the deceased from their rest in the under-world. Most certainly it was not the restoration of their decomposed bodies from their graves, although that incredible surmise has been generally entertained. He says, while answering the question, How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come? "That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but naked grain; God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him." The comparison is, that so the naked soul is sown in the under-world, and God, when he raiseth it, giveth it a fitting body. He does not hesitate to call the man who expects the restoration of the same body that was buried, "a fool." His whole argument is explicitly against that idea. "There are bodies celestial, as well as bodies terrestrial; the first man was of the earth, earthy; the second man was the Lord from heaven; and as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly; for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." In view of these declarations, it is truly astonishing that any one can suppose that Paul believed in the resurrection of these present bodies and their transference into heaven. "In this tabernacle we groan, being burdened," and "Who shall deliver me from this body of death!" he cries. If ever there was a man whose goading experience, keen intellectual energies, and moral sensibilities, made him weary of this slow, gross body, and passionately to long for a more corresponding, swift, and pure investiture, it was Paul. And in his theory of "the glorious body of Christ, according to which our vile body shall be changed," he relieved his impatience and fed his desire. What his conception of that body was, definitely, we cannot tell, but doubtless it was the idea of a vehicle adapted to his mounting and ardent soul, and in many

particulars very unlike this present groaning load of clay.

The Epistles of Paul contain no clear allusion to the notion of a Millennium, — a thousand years' reign of Christ with his saints on the earth after his second advent; on the contrary, in many places, particularly in the fourth chapter of his First Epistle to the Thessalonians, he says, that the Lord and them that are his will directly repass into heaven after the consummation of his descent from heaven and their resurrection from the dead. But the declaration, "He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet," taken with its context, is thought by Bertholdt, Billroth, De Wette, and others, to imply that Christ would establish a millennial kingdom on earth, and reign in it engaged in vanquishing all hostile forces. Against this exegesis we have to say, first, that, so far as that goes, the vast preponderance of critical authorities is opposed to it. Secondly, if this conquest were to be secured on earth, there is nothing to show that it need occupy much time; one year might answer for it, as well as a thousand. There is nothing here to show that Paul means just what the Rabbins taught. Thirdly, even if Paul supposed a considerable period must elapse before "all enemies" would be subdued, during which period Christ must reign, it does not follow that he believed that reign would be on earth; it might be in heaven. The "enemies" referred to are, in part at least, the wicked spirits occupying the regions of the upper air; for he specifies these "principalities, authorities, and powers."* And the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews represents God as saying to Jesus, "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Fourthly, it seems certain that, if in the Apostle's thought a thousand years were interpolated between Christ's second coming and the delivering up of his mediatorial sceptre to God, he would have said so, at least somewhere in his writings. He would naturally have dwelt upon it a

* The apocryphal "Ascension of Isaiah," already spoken of, gives a detailed description of the upper air as occupied by Satan and his angels, among whom fighting and evil deeds rage; but Christ in his ascent conquers and spoils them all, and shows himself a victor ever brightening as he rises successively through the whole seven heavens to the feet of God. *Ascensio Vatis Isaiæ*, Cap. VI.–X.

little, as the Chiliasts did so much. Instead of that, he repeatedly contradicts it. Upon the whole, then, with Ruckert, we cannot see any reason for not supposing that, according to Paul, "the end" was immediately to succeed "the coming," as εἶτα would properly indicate. The doctrine of a long earthly reign of Christ is not deduced *from* this passage, by candid interpretation, because it must be inferred there, but foisted *into* it, by Rabbinical information, because it may be introduced there.

Paul distinctly teaches that the believers who died before the second coming of the Saviour would remain in the under-world until that event, when they and the transformed living should ascend "together with the Lord." All the relevant expressions in his Epistles, save two, are obviously in harmony with this conception of a temporary subterranean sojourn, waiting for the appearance of Jesus from heaven to usher in the resurrection. But in the fifth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians he writes, "Abiding in the body we are absent from the Lord." It is usually inferred from these words, and those which follow them, that the Apostle expected, whenever he died, to be instantly with Christ. Certainly they do mean pretty nearly that, but then they mean it in connection with the second advent, and the accompanying circumstances and events; for Paul believed that many of the disciples, possibly himself, would live until Christ's coming. All through these two chapters, the fourth and fifth, it is obvious, from the marked use of the terms "we" and "you," and from other considerations, that "we" here refers solely to the writer, the individual Paul. It is the plural of accommodation used by common custom and consent. Now in the form of a slight paraphrase we may unfold the genuine meaning of the passage in hand. "In this body I am afflicted: not that I would merely be released from it, for then I should be a naked spirit. But I earnestly desire, unclothing myself of this earthly body, at the same time to clothe myself with my heavenly body, that I may lose all my mortal part and its woes in the full experience of heaven's eternal life. God has determined that this result shall come to me sooner or later, and has given me a pledge of it in the witnessing spirit. But it cannot

happen so long as I tarry in the flesh, the Lord delaying his appearance. Having the infallible earnest of the spirit, I do not dread the change, but desire to hasten it. Confident of acceptance in that day at the judgment-seat of Christ, before which we must all then stand, I long for the crisis, when, divested of this body and invested with the immortal form wrought for me by God, I shall be with the Lord. Still, knowing the terror which shall environ the Lord at his coming to judgment, I plead with men to be prepared." Who ever carefully examines the whole connected passage, from iv. 6 to v. 16, we think, will see that the above paraphrase truly exposes its meaning.

The other text alluded to as an apparent exception to the doctrine of a residence in the lower land of ghosts intervening between death and the ascension, occurs in the Epistle to the Philippians. "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better; but that I should abide in the flesh is more needful for you." There are three possible ways of regarding this passage. First, we may suppose that Paul, seeing the advent of the Lord postponed longer and longer, changed his idea of the intermediate state of deceased Christians, and thought they would spend that period of waiting in heaven, not in hades. Neander advocates this view. But there is little to sustain it, and it is loaded with fatal difficulties. A change of faith so important and bright in its view as this must have seemed under the circumstances, would have been more clearly and fully stated. Attention would have been earnestly invited to so great a favor and comfort; exultation and gratitude would have been expressed over so unheard-of a boon. Moreover, what had occurred to effect the alleged new belief? The unexpected delay of Christ's coming might make the Apostle wish that his departed friends were tarrying above the sky, instead of beneath the sepulchre, but it could furnish no ground to warrant a sudden faith in that wish as a fulfilled fact. Besides, the truth is, that Paul never ceased, even to the last, to expect the speedy arrival of the Lord, and to regard the interval as a comparative trifle. In this very Epistle he says, "The Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing." Secondly, we may im-

agine that he expected himself, as a divinely chosen and especially favored servant, to go to Christ in heaven as soon as he died, if that should happen before the Lord's appearance, while the great multitude of believers would abide in the under-world until the general resurrection. The death he was in peril of, and is refering to, was that of martyrdom for the Gospel, from the hands of Nero. And many of the Fathers maintained, that in the case of every worthy Christian martyr there was an exception to the general doom, and that he was permitted to enter heaven at once. Still, to argue such a thought in the text before us requires an hypothesis far-fetched, and unsupported by one clear declaration of the Apostle himself. Thirdly, we may assume — and it seems to us by far the least encumbered and the most plausible of any theory that meets the case — that Paul believed there would be vouchsafed to the faithful Christian during his transient abode in the under-world a more intimate and blessed spiritual fellowship with his Master than he could experience while in the flesh. "For I am persuaded that neither death [separation from the body] nor depth [the under-world] shall be able to separate us from God's love which he has manifested through Christ." He may refer, therefore, by his hopes of being straightway with Christ on leaving the body, to a spiritual communion with him in the disembodied state below, and not to his physical presence in the supernal realm, the latter not being attainable previous to the resurrection. Indeed, a little farther on in this same Epistle he plainly shows that he did not anticipate being received to heaven till after the second coming of Christ. He says, "We look for the Saviour from heaven, who shall change our vile body, and fashion it like unto his own glorious body." This change is the preliminary preparation to ascent to heaven, which change he repeatedly represents as indispensable.

What Paul believed would be the course and fate of things on earth after the final consummation of Christ's mission is a matter of inference from his brief and partial hints. The most probable and consistent view which can be constructed from those hints is this. He thought all mankind would become reconciled and obedient to God; and death, losing its punitive character, become

what it was originally intended to be, the mere change of the earthly for a heavenly body preparatory to a direct ascension. "Then shall the Son himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." Then placid virtues and innocent joys should fill the world, and human life be what it was in Eden ere guilt forbade angelic visitants and converse with heaven.* "So when" — without a previous descent into hades, as the whole context proves — "this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying which is written: 'Death shall be swallowed up in victory. O Death, thou last enemy, where is thy sting! O Hades, thou gloomy prison, where is thy victory!'" The exposition just offered is confirmed by its striking, entire adaptedness to the whole Pauline scheme. It is also the interpretation given by the earliest Fathers, and by the Church in general until now. This idea of men being changed and rising into heaven without at all entering the disembodied state below, was evidently in the mind of Milton when he wrote the following lines: —

> "And from these corporeal nutriments, perhaps,
> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
> And, winged, ascend ethereal, — may, at choice,
> Here, or in heavenly paradise, dwell."

It now remains to see what Paul thought was to be the final portion of the hardened and persevering sinner. One class of passages in his writings, if taken by themselves, would lead us to believe that on that point he had no fixed convictions in regard to particulars, but, thinking these beyond the present reach of reason, contented himself with the general assurance that all such persons would meet their just deserts, and there left the subject in obscurity. "God will render to every man, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek, according to his deeds." "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." "So then every one of us shall give an account of himself to God." "At the judgment-seat of Christ

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* Neander thinks Paul's idea was, that "the perfected kingdom of God would then blend itself harmoniously throughout his unbounded dominions." We believe his apprehension is correct. This globe would become a part of the general Paradise, an anteroom or a lower story to the Temple of the Universe.

every one shall receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." From these and a few kindred texts we might infer that the author, aware that he "knew but in part," simply held the belief, — without attempting to pry into special methods, details, and results, — that at the time of the judgment all should have exact justice. He may, however, have unfolded in his preaching minutiæ of faith not explained in his Letters.

A second class of passages in the Epistles of Paul would naturally cause the common reader to conclude, that he imagined the unregenerate, those unfit for the presence of God, were to be annihilated when Christ, after his second coming, should return to heaven with his saints. "Those who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of Christ, shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence and glory of the Lord when he shall come." "The end of the enemies of the cross of Christ is destruction." "The vessels of wrath fitted for destruction." "As many as have sinned without law shall perish without law." But it is to be observed that the word here rendered "destruction" need not signify annihilation. It often, even in Paul's Epistles, plainly means severe punishment, dreadful misery, moral ruin and retribution. For example, "foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition," "piercing them through with many sorrows." It may, or may not, have that sense in the instances above cited. Their meaning is intrinsically uncertain; we must bring other passages and distinct considerations to aid our interpretation.

From a third selection of texts in Paul's Epistles, it is not strange that some persons have deduced the doctrine of unconditional and universal salvation. "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." But the genuine explanation of this sentence we are constrained to believe is as follows: "As, following after the example of Adam, all souls descend below, so, following after Christ, all shall be raised up"; that is, at the judgment, after which event some may be taken to heaven, others banished into hades again. "We trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe." This means that all men have

been saved now from the unconditional sentence to hades brought on them by the first sin, but not all know the glad tidings; those that do receive them into believing hearts are already exulting over their deliverance and their hopes of heaven. All are objectively saved from the unavoidable and universal necessity of hadean imprisonment; the obedient believers are also subjectively saved from the contingent and personal risk of incurring that doom. "God hath shut them all up together in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all." "All" here means both Jews and Gentiles, and the reference is to the universal annulment of the universal fatality, and the impartial offer of heaven to every one who sanctifies the truth in his heart. In some cases the word "all" is used with rhetorical looseness, not with logical rigidness, and denotes merely all Christians. Ruckert shows this well in his commentary on the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. In other instances the universality, which is indeed plainly there, applies to the removal from the race of the inherited doom, while a conditionality is unquestionably implied as to the actual salvation of each person. We say Paul does constantly represent personal salvation as depending on conditions, as beset by perils, and to be earnestly striven for. "Lest that by any means I myself should be a castaway." "Deliver such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." "Wherefore we labor, that, whether present or absent, we may be accepted of the Lord." "To them that are saved we are a savor of life unto life; to them that perish, a savor of death unto death." "Charge them that are rich that they be humble and do good, laying up in store a good foundation, that they may lay hold on eternal life." It is clear from these and many similar passages of Paul, that he did not believe in the unconditional salvation, the positive mechanical salvation, of all individuals, but held personal salvation to be a contingent problem, to be worked out, through the permitting grace of God, by Christian faith, works, and character. How plainly this is contained, too, in his doctrine of "a resurrection of the just and the unjust," and a day of judgment, from whose august tribunal Christ is to pronounce sentence according to each man's deeds! At the

same time, the undeniable fact deserves particular remembrance, that he says, and apparently knows, nothing whatever of a hell, in the now received acceptation of that term, — a prison-house of fiery tortures. He assigns the realm of Satan and the evil spirits to the air, the vexed region between earth and heaven, according to the demonology of his age and country.

Finally, there is a fourth class of passages, from which we might infer that the Apostle's faith merely excluded the reprobate from participating in the ascent with Christ, just as some of the Pharisees excluded the Gentiles from their resurrection, and there left the subject in darkness. "They that are Christ's," "the dead in Christ, shall rise." "No sensualist, extortioner, idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." "There is laid up a crown of righteousness, which the Lord shall give in that day to all them that love his appearing." In all these and many other cases, there is a marked omission of any reference to the ultimate positive disposal of the wicked. Still, against the supposition of his holding the doctrine, that all except good Christians would be left below eternally, we have his repeated explicit avowals: "I have hope towards God, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust." "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ." These last statements, however, prove only that Paul thought the bad as well as the good would be raised up and judged; they are not inconsistent with the belief, that the condemned would afterwards either be annihilated or remanded everlastingly to the under-world. This very belief, we think, is contained in that remarkable passage, where Paul writes to the Philippians, that he strives "if by any means he may attain unto the resurrection." Now the common resurrection of the dead for judgment needed not to be striven for; it would occur to all unconditionally. But there is another resurrection, or another part remaining to complete the resurrection, namely, after the judgment, a rising of the accepted to heaven. All shall rise from hades upon the earth to judgment. This Paul calls simply the resurrection, ἀνάστασις. After the judgment, the accepted shall rise to heaven. This Paul calls, with distinctive emphasis, ἐξανάστασις, the preëminent or com-

plete resurrection; the prefix being used as an intensive. This is what the Apostle considers uncertain, and labors to secure, "stretching forwards and pressing towards the goal for the prize of that call upwards, ἄνω, (that invitation to heaven,) which God has extended through Christ." Those who are condemned at the judgment can have no part in this completion of the resurrection, cannot enter the heavenly kingdom, but must be "punished with everlasting destruction from the presence and glory of the Lord"; that is, as we suppose is signified, be thrust into the under-world for evermore.

For want of space, we have been forced to omit an exposition of the Pauline doctrine of the natural rank and proper or delegated offices of Christ in the universe; also to pass by any examination of the validity of the doubts and arguments brought against the genuineness of the lesser Epistles ascribed to Paul. We must likewise refrain from critical remarks on the character and evidences of the doctrines we have deduced from his writings. In closing, we can only sum up in brief array the leading conceptions in his view of the last things. Let us say, however, that our interpretation and construction have this strong confirmation for their accuracy: they are arrived at from the stand-point of the life of Paul in the first century, not from the stand-point of the experience of the cultivated Christian in the nineteenth century. First, there is a world of immortal light and bliss over the sky, the exclusive abode of God and the angels from of old; also a dreary world of darkness and repose under the earth, the abode of all departed human spirits. Secondly, death was originally meant to lead souls into heaven, clothed in new and divine bodies, immediately on the fall of the present tabernacle; but sin broke that plan, and doomed them to pass disembodied into hades. Third, the Mosaic dispensation of law could not deliver men from that sentence, but God had promised Abraham that through one of his posterity they should be delivered. To fulfil that promise Christ came. He illustrated God's unpurchased love and forgiveness, and determination to restore the original plan as if men had never sinned. Christ effected this aim, this proclamation of the good tidings, in conjunction with his teachings, by dying, descending into hades as if

the doom of a sinful man were upon him also, subduing the powers of that prison-house, rising again, and ascending into heaven, the first one ever admitted there from among the dead, thus exemplifying the fulfilled "expectation of the creature that was groaning and travailing in pain" to be born into the freedom of the heavenly glory of the sons of God. Fourthly, "justification by faith," therefore, simply means the redemption from hades by the dispensation of free grace which is proclaimed in the Gospel. Fifthly, every sanctified believer receives a pledge or earnest of the spirit sealing him as God's, and assuring him of acceptance with Christ and of advance to heaven. For the perfection of this inward witness every one must strive. Sixthly, Christ was speedily to come a second time, come in glory and power irresistible, to consummate his mission, raise the dead, judge the world, establish a new order of things, and return into heaven with his chosen ones. Seventhly, the stubbornly wicked portion of mankind would be returned eternally into the under-world. Eighthly, after the judgment, the subterranean realm of death would be shut up, no more souls going into it, but all men at their dissolution being instantly invested with spiritual bodies and ascending to the glory of the Lord. Finally, Jesus, having put down all enemies, and fully restored the primeval paradise, shall yield up his mediatorial throne, and God the Father be all in all.

The preparatory rudiments of this system of the last things existed in the belief of the age, and it was itself composed by the union of a theoretic interpretation of the life of Christ, and of the connected phenomena succeeding his death, with the elements of Pharisaic Judaism, all mingled in the crucible of the soul of Paul and fused by the fires of his experience. It perfectly illustrates a great number of the most puzzling passages in the New Testament, without the necessity of recourse to the unnatural, incredible, unwarranted dogmas associated with them by the unique, isolated peculiarities of Calvinism.

W. R. A.

Art. IV.—PITMAN'S PHONETIC ALPHABETS.*

It can hardly have escaped the observation of our readers, that there have been great efforts made within a few years past to introduce Phonetics into the common schools, and that these attempts have met with a silent, but strong opposition, on the part of many of the wisest friends of education. We have, therefore, thought that a brief explanation of the subject might be acceptable and useful. Without further apology, therefore, let us enter at once upon the matter.

The Phonetic mode of writing is that in which each elementary sound of a language is invariably represented by the same character, and each character in the alphabet is used to represent only one sound. The first and most obvious advantage of such an alphabet is, that it reduces the labor of learning to read and write to the mere labor of learning the alphabet. He that knows his alphabet for phonetic reading can read any word at first sight, and write any word which he has heard pronounced.

It would be useless, in a brief explanatory article like the present, to attempt to show how phonetic writing was first introduced into the world, and how in every modern language there have gradually been introduced departures from strict phonetic spelling. It is enough to say, that in no language has the departure from phonetic spelling been greater than in the English, and that this naturally arises from the fact, that no language is formed from a greater variety of elements, or has undergone more rapid changes. So great is this departure in English, that it is almost impossible for us to represent a sound in such a way as to make it absolutely certain that other men will understand us; and there are very few proper names whose spelling will convey a just idea of their pronunciation to those that have never heard the names.

In consequence of this lack of phonetic powers in the English alphabet, it is necessary to teach a child, or a foreigner, not only the sounds of the letters, but also the

* *First Phonetic Reader.* Fourth Edition. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1852. 12mo. pp. 72.

particular pronounciation of almost every new word which he sees written. The letter *a* represents at least seven distinct sounds, besides being sometimes silent; and no rules have been devised by which the learner can tell which sound he is to give in a word that he encounters for the first time. In like manner, *ough* has seven different sounds; and many letters and combinations of letters have six, five, and four sounds. This renders it extremely difficult to learn the pronunciation of the printed language. The difficulty of learning to write it is further aggravated by the variety of ways in which one sound is represented. The sound of *a* in *ape*, for example, is written in more than thirty different ways; and however familiar a word containing that sound is to the ear of a learner, he cannot write it until he has seen it written.

The result is, that one third of the population of England cannot read, and one half the population are unable to write.

To remedy these evils of English orthography, it has often been proposed to revise the alphabet and add new letters. There seems to be no more reason why the English should be confined to twenty-six letters, than there was why the Greeks should have been confined to the sixteen letters of Phœnicia. Our language cannot be written phonetically with less than thirty-six letters, and indeed we must then have some other characters to indicate our four diphthongs, so that it is not convenient to write English phonetically with less than forty letters.

No attempt to reform our alphabet has ever had so much success as that of Messrs. Pitman and Ellis, whose alphabet has been in use only five or six years, and has nevertheless already been the means of giving thousands of adult Englishmen and Irishmen the power of reading and writing the English language. Their success probably arises from two very distinct causes.

These gentlemen, taking the hint, as they say, from the writings of our own Franklin, have invented three new alphabets; namely, the Phonotype, the Phonetic Longhand, and the Phonetic Shorthand.

The Phonotypic Alphabet takes the common alphabet, with the exception of *k*, *q*, and *x*, and adds seventeen new letters. The principle on which it is formed,

and which undoubtedly is one secret of its success, is to make a word printed in phonotype look as much as possible like the same word printed in common type. So nearly is this done, that a person who can read either type fluently can learn to read the other with scarcely appreciable labor.

The Phonetic Longhand is simply phonotype adapted to ordinary penmanship, and differs from common writing in precisely the same way that phonotype differs from common printing.

The Phonetic Shorthand, commonly called Phonography, is an invention of a much higher order. It consists of an alphabet simplified as much as possible in the form of the letters, so as to take the least possible time in writing. At the same time a perfect legibility is maintained, so that the phonographic reporter can rise at the close of an orator's extemporaneous speech, and read it aloud from a copy which he has taken verbatim as it was delivered. Public speakers utter from eighty to one hundred and sixty words in a minute. It is a common thing for phonographers to write one hundred words in a minute, and there are those who can write over two hundred. In common writing, thirty words a minute is considered rapid execution. How rapidly stenographers, in older systems, could write, we do not remember to have heard; but we know that phonography is rapidly driving stenography out of use. And we have no doubt that this brilliant career of phonography is one great cause of the attention which has been given to the phonotype which came afterwards from the same inventor. Those who have paid any attention to phonography are usually enthusiastic in its praises, and predict that it will banish the present written (not the printed) alphabet, just as surely as the neat forms of the present letters have banished the clumsy forms that preceded them back to the Egyptian hieroglyphic.

Nevertheless, we suppose that some of our readers may never see any written phonography, and that they may be interested to know what it is like. We will endeavor to describe it, but must premise by saying that the sounds of the language are divided by Mr. Pitman as follows: six long vowels; six short vowels; four diphthongs; two ambiguous letters, *y*, *w*; the

breathing, *h;* and twenty-one consonants. To represent these he uses twenty-four consonant signs, each of which consists of a single stroke of the pen; twelve being hair strokes and twelve heavy. The twelve may be formed by making these three, (, |,), horizontal, or by an inclination of them to the right or the left. In writing a word, the consonants are first written without raising the pen, and the vowels and diphthongs are afterward added by dots and short dashes. Thus, -(is *oath;*)- is *so;* and the like.

The most obvious use of phonography is in reporting debates and lectures, and in preparing notes for sermons, lectures, or speeches. Its usefulness in this latter respect does not consist wholly in the saving of time, but partly in the increase of mental vivacity which arises from so rapid a mode of committing thoughts to paper. In this it resembles, in a feeble degree, the stimulus of extemporaneous speech. We are, however, inclined to believe that the greatest advantage of phonography, to the world at large, will arise from the increase of friendly correspondence, strengthening social ties, and binding sundered families together. Business letters are short, and the time consumed in writing them bears little proportion to their value. But in social correspondence the time used in writing a long conversational letter is a serious tax, and operates as a great restraint upon friendly intercommunications. Nor do we see any reason why phonography should not come into general use. Its brilliant success in the hands of reporters will be constantly drawing attention to it, and the ease of learning to use it will allure students. (From our own experience we would indorse the statement made in advertisements, that "its principles may be mastered in a few hours; and one hour's daily practice for one month will enable the student to use it with certainty and freedom, while the same amount of practice continued for six months or a year will enable any one to take verbatim reports of sermons, lectures, &c.")

Let us return to phonotype, with which our discussion started, and review some of the arguments which are brought for and against its introduction into our common schools.

The extent of the efforts made to introduce phonetics

is, at present, simply this: to teach the phonetic alphabet first, and confine the child to phonetic books about six months or a year; afterward, to use the phonetic type as an enunciatory drill, but also to teach the child to read and spell in common type. The only additional use of phonotype which we would wish, is occasionally to indicate the pronunciation of a foreign word, or difficult proper name; to use it, that is, as a pronouncing key. The reasons for introducing phonetics are as follows.

1. The ease of teaching. Repeated experiments have shown that a class of children, of average capacity, under seven years of age, receiving instruction during half an hour a day, will learn to read phonotype fluently in less than six months; and that the same instruction continued three months longer enables them to read and spell common print as well as the average of classes, taught in the common way, do at the age of fourteen years. The causes of this rapid progress are manifold. During the first six months the phonetic character of the type is the principal aid; but a scarcely less important circumstance is, that the child is not taught the names of the letters, but only their powers. Take, for example, the word *cup*, which is spelled alike in the two prints. The child taught in the common way reads the letters *c u p; see you pea;* and no ingenuity can make *see you pea* sound like cup. The child taught by phonetics pronounces *c* by a simple whisper on the back part of the palate, such as is heard at the end of the words *look*, *tack*, *bake*, *poke*. He pronounces *u* as he would the word *up*, if he held his lips apart so that he could not pronounce the *p*. And he pronounces *p* by a simple whisper from the lips, as heard in the end of the words *hop*, *hope*, *soap*. Now these three sounds being pronounced without any interval or pause between them, infallibly produce the word *cup*. A third reason of the rapid progress of the child is, that there is no nonsense in the Phonetic Reader. He sees only words which have meaning, no disheartening *a*, *b*, *ab;* and *b*, *u*, *bu*.

At the end of six months he passes to common reading, and the passage from one type to the other is effected by a few lessons, about eighty in number, in which the principal anomalies of common spelling are classified and explained.

2. The effect of phonetics on enunciation is very remarkable. Schools in which provincialism of pronunciation was a striking defect, have been vastly benefited by simply reading and spelling from this type.

3. The moral effect on the child is excellent. By removing the tediousness and bewildering contradictions which made children, taught in the old way, careless and indifferent, and by substituting a method of truthful simplicity, it gives an intellectual honesty and industry which is likely to affect very favorably their whole future course.

4. It offers the readiest means of teaching our Irish population to read and write, and of thus bringing them under American influences. We know of instances in which children, taught phonetics in the public schools, are teaching their parents to read.

5. It furnishes the easiest means of teaching our German, Hungarian, Norwegian, French, and Spanish citizens how to read and pronounce the English tongue. The labor of a foreigner in learning to speak our language is almost beyond the conception of those who were born under its sounds.

Other advantages might perhaps be enumerated, but these are sufficient, we think, to command the attention of all men. The objections brought against phonetics are: —

1. That they will render the mass of our literature obsolete. This objection implies that they will supersede common printing. But the present endeavor is simply to use them as an introduction to common print. Yet if they came into general use and banished common type, they would not make our present books obsolete, because a few hours' attention of an adult, familiar with phonetic reading, would enable him to read common type.

2. That they would obscure etymologies. This again implies the ultimate prevalence of phonotype, a result for which we are not striving. But even if phonotype should prevail, it would reveal as many etymologies as it would conceal; and the concealed ones could be readily shown again by reference to the present type.

3. That they give the child the trouble of learning an alphabet which he afterwards throws away. To which

it is very conclusively answered, that this trouble is a great saving of trouble, as we have shown above. The objector then changes his ground, and takes precisely the opposite stand.

4. That this saving of labor is of no value, as the time of a child under seven is of no consequence, and that he might as well be puzzling over the alphabet as doing any thing else. Nay, some have gone so far as to say, that these difficulties of orthography are an excellent mental discipline for the young mind. This objection to phonetics is the most astounding of all. All the psychological investigations of the race have shown the importance of early education. The mental habits of each hour of life are somewhat dependent on those of the preceding hour; and it is therefore impossible to state a time in an infant's life when its education is a matter of indifference. Of course we are not advocating an early education of powers which are not developed until a late period. But the power to hear is one of the first powers displayed, and the analysis of sounds is therefore a proper study for the youngest child; and the false analysis given by common spelling is a serious detriment to the child's powers of observation, powers of analysis, and sense of truth and fitness. As for a mental discipline in mastering a cumbrous and artificial orthography, it is better attained in copying simple drawings or exercising in the Chinese geometrical puzzles. Nay, the child would do better to play in the open air, observe nature, and gain physical strength, during the time which could be saved by means of the phonetic alphabet, than to be taught in the common way.

5. That the enunciatory drill can be obtained, and is obtained, by other means. This is granted; but those other means are very much more difficult to apply, and cannot therefore, in usual cases, be so efficacious. Moreover, this does not, at most, amount to an objection, but only to the denial of one of the reasons for introducing phonotype. And we may add, that other modes amount only to a partial remedy, because they are not applied until bad habits have been formed; whereas the teaching of the phonetic alphabet at the begining of all learning will prevent the formation of any habit of defective articulation.

6. That the phonetic alphabet does not represent all the sounds of the language, and that changes and additions will therefore become necessary, introducing again, hereafter, the same strife as at present. To which it is well replied, that a speaker who reduced all his words to the Procrustean level of Pitman's forty letters, would not differ from standard usage more than a Philadelphian differs from a Bostonian. And if public usage should hereafter demand new vowel-signs for certain words, they can easily be adopted from the complete alphabet which is introduced into the higher reading-books for the printing of foreign phrases and proper names.

7. Finally, it is said to the phonotype, in the words of Tulkinghorn, "I tell you I do not like the company you keep." Phonetic books are found lying on the same counter with the writings of new church men, homœopathists, and phrenologists, nay, even of mesmerists, biologists, and spiritual mediums. Phonetic newspapers have articles in them of the ultra reform school, and contain even editorials in eulogy of that notorious seer who traversed the region between Mars and Jupiter, and found but four asteroids, where the telescope shows twenty-three.

And this, we suspect, is in many minds the weightiest objection of all. Phonotypy and phonography claim to be popular reforms, and are therefore advocated by those who are intent, at any rate, on turning the world upside down. But ought this to be a real objection to the system? The phonetic readers prepared for schools are, as far as we have examined, not only free from taint of radicalism, but would be, if printed in common type, school-readers of the very highest style of excellence. It seems to us that Messrs. Pitman and Ellis have, in their phonographic and phonetic alphabets, given a valuable aid to all teachers of children, and to all teachers of men; and that the final effect of their inventions upon the literature and morals of all that speak the English tongue, will be a happy one.

T. H.

ART. V. — LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DR. CHALMERS.*

AN author is apt to put so much of himself into his books, as to attach comparatively little freshness of interest to his biography. We read with avidity the correspondence and posthumous memorials of Scott, or Southey, or Wordsworth, not in order to augment our impression of the man's genius, but because the works published in his lifetime have awakened a minute and fond curiosity as to all, however trivial, that he wrote, said, or did. Not so with Chalmers. We have taken it for granted that he was a very great man, but how or why it was impossible to determine from his voluminous writings. In each of the numerous departments in which he became known through the press, many of his contemporaries have been greatly his superiors in originality of thought, soundness of judgment, and eloquence of style; yet there has always been about his name a prestige of preëminent ability, and the American public at least have taken on trust a great deal more with regard to him than was warranted by any evidence in their possession before his death. His whole intellectual and moral being was so profoundly and beneficently felt in the community of which he was the central object of reverence, as to diffuse through entire Anglo-Saxondom a vague feeling that he was second to none of the controlling spirits of his times. The solution of the problem (and it is more than solved) lies in the volumes before us. Since reading them, we have ceased to regard even the North British Review as extravagant in its reiterated eulogium of him, or to wonder that language, which it seems almost sacrilegious to apply to a fallible mortal, should have been abundantly employed concerning him. His biography has been so generally read, that we shall not attempt a detailed narrative of his life; but shall merely pass in review some of its leading epochs, in connection with a rapid sketch of his character and services.

During the early portion of his professional career, it

* *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of* THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D. *By his Son-in-law, the* REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL. D. 4 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850–52. 12mo. pp. 514, 547, 531, 593.

seemed doubtful whether theology or mathematical science would command the full vigor of his intellect. His genius then was Titanic, with the harshness and waywardness of the earth-spirit, and hardly touched with the altar-fire of its future consecration. In common with very many of the Moderate party in the Established Church of Scotland, he entered the ministry less from the love of the Gospel or of souls, than for the sake of a position of ease and leisure for the pursuit of general literature and science. One of his earliest publications, boldly and bitterly recanted in after life, was a plea for the right of the parochial clergy to fill professorships in the universities, on the ground that the duties of their calling demanded but a slender modicum of their time and their abilities. He was no hypocrite. He was a sincere believer in the Christian revelation, and in the theological standards of his church. He was a young man of rigidly pure morality, generous sentiments, and noble aims. He had a natural reverence for the Creator, refined and exalted by his scientific and æsthetic culture, and capable of imparting at times a fervent glow to his spirit and a contagious enthusiasm to his utterance. He could therefore command a certain range of subjects in ethics and in natural theology, on which he could honestly and earnestly write and deliver sermons. He had had little or no association with cultivated persons of a more profound religious experience, and his theological education had been so slight and superficial, as to give him less conversance with the Scriptures than is often acquired in a New England Bible-class. He was prepared to be as a pastor and preacher all that Blair, Robertson, and a host of the intellectual luminaries of the Scottish Church had been. But it is very evident that he had not felt his spiritual poverty, his need of redemption and of the influence of the divine spirit. He had not consecrated his heart and life to the service of God. He had not formed devotional habits, nor had his reverence for Christ as a teacher deepened into trust and affection for him as a Saviour. It was, no doubt, a just ground of reproach to the Established Church, that so low a standard of piety had been suffered to gain the ascendency, — that it had in fact secularized the pulpit, and left the ministry open to any worldling of respectable character, who was

willing to contract for the perfunctory discharge of its offices. But under such a posture of affairs, we are not authorized to impugn the ingenuousness or integrity of a young man, who had every qualification for his chosen profession which was deemed requisite by a majority of his fellow-countrymen, any more than we blame a Mahometan Mufti, for entering upon his duties destitute of Christian piety.

In the condition of character which we have described, he completed seven years of his ministry at Kilmany, and, as he afterwards confessed, with no appreciable results upon the character of the people under his charge. His splendid essays on the Divine attributes and the glories of the visible universe had passed over the heads of his rustic hearers without touching their hearts; and the lofty morality which he had inculcated was equally inefficient, from his failure to direct his flock to the only Fountain of spiritual strength. He had never recognized in himself, or discovered in the souls under his charge, the disease of the will, the moral inability, to which the Gospel, considered as a remedial system, is specially adapted. He had preached, not as to sinners in need of repentance and in peril of perdition, but as to saints at different stages on the road to heaven.

We find no evidence that any decisive change took place in his religious opinions, or rather in his views of dogmatic theology. In the sermons quoted as written in the unevangelical portion of his ministry, he expresses indeed a degree of resiliency from ultra-Calvinism, but not in a form which would identify him with any more liberal sect, or remove him farther from the centre of orthodoxy than the left wing of the Calvinistic host. But in his subsequent life, it would have been wrong to number him among the extreme members of his party. We can find in his writings no technical statements stringent enough to satisfy the doctrinal martinets in their ranks. We doubt whether he ever gave himself much trouble or thought concerning the polemics of religion, while he reposed on the simple assurance (never by him denied), that Christ had opened the way for the pardon of human guilt, and that trust in his mediation and atonement was to be regarded as the prime motive power on man's part in the Christian life.

But at the crisis of which we are speaking, a moral revolution took place in him, as entire (though less sudden) as that which occurred in Saul of Tarsus. He had vehemently distrusted fervor and enthusiasm on matters of religion, and had never been so zealous as in urging moderation and lukewarmness. His sympathies were with the least earnest and devoted among the clergy. He had written for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia his masterly, but defective, treatise on the Christian Evidences, in which he repudiates the internal evidence of Christianity as utterly unreliable, — a position from which indeed he never logically receded, but in which he never could have found himself, had his spiritual nature been accessible (as it shortly afterwards became) to the intrinsic characteristics of credibility in our religion and its records. But when he was about thirty years of age, a series of domestic afflictions, and a severe illness that brought him to the brink of the grave, induced a profounder view of his own sinfulness and penal liability as a subject of God's moral government, and of his personal need of pardon and redemption. The Gospel was no longer a message to the race, but a revelation to him individually. He was bowed in the lowest depth of self-humiliation and contrition. He cast himself unreservedly upon the Divine mercy through Christ, and consecrated himself with entireness and fervor to the Divine service. He returned to his professional duty an altered, a renewed man, full of his own glowing experience of a new-found redemption, and earnestly solicitous to diffuse that experience among the people of his charge. He now addressed men as sinners, and urged their immediate submission and reconciliation. He preached repentance and regeneration. And now, so far from deeming his work one which left him abundant leisure for scientific and literary labors, he found his days and weeks too short for his dispensation of the word from house to house, for his ministries among the poor, the grief-stricken, and dying, and for such study of the Scriptures as might make him thorough and profound in his public exhibitions of the truth.

His church was thronged, and crowds assembled wherever he preached. His own sincere conviction and fervent feeling held the listeners in absorbed attention,

and often fastened with a lifelong grasp upon their consciences, so that there was hardly a family in his flock that numbered not among its members some whom he had won to the Divine service. Of course he was not suffered to remain long at Kilmany. In 1815, five years after this signal change, he was instituted as minister of the Tron Church in Glasgow. Here he became at once the central object of regard for the whole community. His church doors were absolutely stormed whenever he was to preach. His Astronomical Discourses were delivered at a Thursday lecture, and by tacit consent business was suspended, the seats of traffic deserted, and the living tide of respectability and fashion turned churchward, while indulgent masters released even clerks and apprentices for the hour of sermon.

But Dr. Chalmers effected much more by the weight of his character and the cogency of his influence than by preaching. His eleemosynary administration in Glasgow makes an era in the history of pauperism, and in coming ages his name will be as closely connected with pioneer efforts for the relief and elevation of the dependent poor, as Howard's is with prison reform throughout the civilized world. The only fault in the system which he established, its only perishable element, consisted in its vastness as regarded the capacity of any single supervision. It exceeded the power of any man but its author. It was like the cestus of Entellus, which no inferior arm could wield. But though it was superseded in the district in which it had its birth, at the present moment it is giving substance and definiteness to all the plans of amelioration in this department, which are under discussion or in the incipient stages of experiment, on both sides of the Atlantic. Finding it difficult to overcome the *vis inertiæ* of an ancient parochial organization, he procured the erection of the new parish of St. John's in the very poorest quarter of the city. The parish comprised a population of ten thousand, the great majority of them destitute of educational and religious privileges, and a very large proportion of them dependent in part or wholly upon public charity. He insisted on the entire isolation of this district from the pauper administration of the city, and depended solely on voluntary contributions for his relief fund. At the same time

he instituted a system of the most rigid and minute supervision, economical and moral. He established Sunday and day schools, and religious meetings in destitute neighborhoods. He furnished employment where there was the ability to work, and pecuniary aid only where nothing else could be availing. His whole church was organized into a band of city missionaries, under various titles and with various charges, each member of every board having his specific sphere of duty, and the several boards holding frequent meetings for consultation among themselves and with him, and for religious services adapted to furnish and strengthen them for their work. Thus, by the minute subdivision of the territory and of the labor to be performed, an inordinate drain was made upon the time of none; while the Christian charity, which otherwise would have expatiated at random over the whole field, and wrought vaguely and aimlessly, was all made directly operative, and was rigidly economized, so that every gift and effort and hour thus consecrated contributed its full quota toward the grand result. The result we must state in brief. A pauper expenditure, which had been estimated for the territory comprised within that parish at £ 1,400, was reduced to £ 280. At the same time, the standard of general comfort was so much enhanced, that the tide of emigration began to set in from other quarters of the city, and the system found its warmest advocates among the class of people needing its beneficent agency. Profaneness, intemperance, and licentiousness received a decided check. Children grew up with a substantial education and industrious habits. Neatness and domestic thrift, in numerous instances, superseded the lazy squalidness of those who had felt that they were the outcast and abandoned members of the body politic. The experiment deserves to be held up for the instruction of the civilized world. To be sure, there is not everywhere a Chalmers to take the helm; but is there a church that has not disposable strength enough to occupy a definite field of like missionary labor? Nay, would not the active charity which is at work in almost every church, could it be organized and wisely directed, bear similar fruits?

Dr. Chalmers, after a ministry of eight years at Glasgow, accepted the Professorship of Moral Philosophy at

the University of St. Andrews. Here he at once obtained an unbounded influence over the students, — an influence which he employed, not only in the cause of good scholarship, but in awakening a new religious life, and in arousing a missionary spirit for aggression upon surrounding ignorance and vice, and for furthering more distant enterprises of a kindred nature. We cannot ascertain that he made any profound research into pre-existing systems of ethical science, or numbered himself among the adherents of any recognized school. But he virtually adopted the New Testament as his standard authority, and made it his aim to legitimate the morality of the Gospel by appeals to the intuitive conviction of his pupils, and to commend it to their consciences as the arbiter of conduct and the guide of life. In this department, and in the kindred science of political economy which he annexed to it, he was still the Christian minister, with the cause and honor of his Divine Master ever foremost in his regard. This procedure in the hands of a man of ordinary genius would have resulted simply in very poor preaching. But under his treatment moral and political science received a genuine baptism, while Christianity was fortified by evidences of its worth and power drawn from the nature of individual and the whole history of social humanity. His wide range of experience and of general knowledge was all forced into the service, while his fervid and cogent eloquence constrained assent and awakened enthusiastic sympathy. But he stood alone. His colleagues did not rise above respectable mediocrity, and were little disposed to second him, either in his thoroughness and energy as a teacher, or in his evangelical zeal as a Christian reformer. His relations with them, though on his part sustained with uniform consideration and kindness, were by no means happy, and it was with little regret that, after four years at St. Andrews, he suffered himself to be transferred to the Professorship of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh.

He now found himself in a situation in every sense adapted to his tastes and capacities. He was not, indeed, a systematic theologian, in the ordinary sense of the word. He abhorred the frigid technicalities of his church and party, and made infrequent and awkward

use of them. But he was most thoroughly versed in the Bible, both critically and experimentally. He studied it for himself, with the aid of lexicons and archæologies, but with little assistance from commentaries. Though his conclusions were undoubtedly biassed, without his consciousness, by the set of opinions which he brought to the investigation of the sacred records, he yet drew them in his own way, and expressed them in his own words, thus breathing into scholastic Calvinism a fresh vitality, to which it had been for centuries a stranger. And if his theology was Calvinistic in its members, it was not so in their collocation or in their relative importance. The fundamental doctrines with him were not those which related to the Divine nature or decrees, or to human nature in the abstract, but those which appertained to Christian experience, the unreserved self-surrender of the soul for pardon to redeeming love and for guidance to the influences of the spirit of God. The two cardinal points of his belief were man's moral inability in his own unaided strength, and his unbounded ability through God working in and with him. His unhackneyed treatment of subjects that had previously bristled with unmeaning technicalities, his fusion into glowing realities of the petrified articles of the Confession of Faith, his lectures, drawn not from bodies of divinity (so called because destitute of soul), but from the spirit that was within him, warmed and elevated by recent communion with God at the mercy-seat and by direct access to the sole fountain of revealed truth, commanded crowded and earnest audiences, not alone from the members of the University, but from citizens of various professions and callings. A new epoch was created in the religious life of the metropolis, and his lecture-room was less the seat of scholastic learning for his students, than a radiating point of evangelical influence for the whole community.

It was at this period that the controversy which issued in the disruption of the Scottish Church reached its crisis. The Church depended for its support on endowments and parochial rates, secured and collected under the sanction and patronage of the government. At the same time, the benefices were bestowed by different modes of presentation. In a majority of parishes, the

right of election was vested in the communicants. Some were nominally at the disposal of the crown; but in these the wishes of the people were generally consulted in the choice of the presentee. Others were under the control of individual patrons, and might legally be conferred on clergymen offensive to the whole body of parishioners. But in the institution to all these livings, the law of the Church prescribed the same ecclesiastical forms. A call by the communicants was the nominal basis for the proceedings of the ordaining Presbytery. The Moderate party adhered to the existing order of things, as, if not intrinsically the best system, yet as liable only to rare cases of grievance and hardship, which were more than counterbalanced by the security and order inseparable from a state establishment. The Evangelical party, on the other hand, demanded the right of the congregation, or rather of the communicants, in benefices under the control of private patronage, to veto an unpalatable appointment, and that of the ordaining Presbytery to give effect to such a veto. There was a middle ground, on which the Moderate party would have met the Evangelicals, and on which there was every reason to suppose that Parliament would have given legal sanction to the compromise. That ground was the concession to the ecclesiastical tribunal of the veto power, on the score of immorality or unsoundness of doctrine, but not of compliance with the mere wishes of a recusant congregation. In 1834, the Evangelical party prevailed in the General Assembly, and passed, by a majority of forty-six, a veto act embodying in full their principles, — an act which, however, needed the sanction of the Imperial Parliament in order to become a law of the realm, or to have any binding force, except upon ecclesiastical office-bearers.

The issue was fairly joined a few months after the passage of this act. The Earl of Kinnoul, lay patron of the parish of Auchterarder, presented to that living a Mr. Young, an unordained licentiate. After hearing the candidate preach for two Sabbaths, only two of the inhabitants of a parish containing three thousand souls came forward to sign the call, while there was a solemn protest entered by more than nineteen twentieths of the communicants against the settlement. The Presbytery

adjourned the case, which was carried by appeal to the Synod, and thence to the General Assembly, whence it was remitted to the Presbytery, with instructions to adhere to the provisions of the veto act. The presentee and his patron then raised an action against the Presbytery in the Court of Sessions, the supreme civil court of Scotland. The decision was in favor of the claimants by a majority of eight judges against five, Lord Jeffrey and his biographer, Lord Cockburn, both having been of the minority. An appeal was carried to the House of Lords, which, in 1839, finally confirmed the decision of the Court of Sessions. By a subsequent decision of the court, confirmed in 1842 by the House of Lords, an action of damages against the recusant Presbytery was sustained, and it was held that they were bound by an indefeasible civil obligation, not only to surrender the temporalities of the benefice (which the Evangelical party were ready to do whenever the candidate nominated by the patron was vetoed), but to perform such religious rites as should qualify the presentee for the full discharge of his official duties. In the interval between these two decisions there had been on the side of the majority of the Assembly a series of negotiations with her Majesty's ministry, with a view to an amicable settlement, and on the side of the courts repeated aggressions upon the rights and liberties of the Church as guaranteed by immemorial usage. After the second decision, there was held a convocation of the Evangelical clergy, to deliberate upon the ulterior measures to be taken in case there should be no retrocession on the part of the government. About four hundred and fifty were present. Dr. Chalmers presided, and preached at the opening of the meeting. His text was, "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness," and his subject, the essential connection between integrity of purpose and clearness of discernment, — the necessity of being right morally and spiritually, in order that we may be right intellectually. By this convocation the plan of future action was matured, and on the 18th of May, 1843, the party which had constituted it withdrew in a body from the General Assembly, and formed immediately the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, with Dr. Chalmers in the chair as moderator.

In every stage of this movement Dr. Chalmers held the foremost place in counsel and service. Every remonstrance, resolution, and negotiation bore the impress of his energy; and under Providence he was undoubtedly the main, probably the indispensable, instrument in effecting the ecclesiastical and spiritual emancipation of the best part of his nation. We believe the result to have been of inestimable worth to the cause of practical piety and diffusive philanthropy. Yet we cannot but regard his position, prior to the disruption, as anomalous and untenable. He was not in favor of a free church till it was forced upon him as the only alternative remaining. On the other hand, he had been through life so strenuous a champion of national religious establishments, that his services had, not many years previously, been enlisted by leading members of the English Church during a season of imagined danger, and he had delivered in London a course of lectures in advocacy of the cause of establishments, with large numbers of the prelacy and the beneficed clergy among his admiring audience. But what he desired was a church supported by the state, yet governed by its own legislative and judicial tribunals. He refused to recognize the principle, that the obligation to sustain and the right to control are inseparable. The Moderate party were, no doubt, sound in their view of the actual constitution of their Church. Lay patronage, where it existed, was in the nature of personal and hereditable property. It grew out of endowments conferred by the ancestry of the several patrons. It was a vested right, the exercise of which, like that of any other vested right, might incidentally become oppressive or burdensome. The true question, therefore, was, not whether that right should be arbitrarily confiscated by the state, but whether its liability to abuse was an evil of sufficient magnitude to authorize secession. In this last form Dr. Chalmers would probably have answered it in the negative, during all the earlier stages of the controversy. Yet we believe that it was under the special leading of the great Head of the Church that the final result was effected. The evils complained of were of so rare occurrence, and of so transient duration, as to constitute an entirely insufficient ground for separation from a church that was

actually performing its true and full work as an evangelical institution. But emancipation from governmental control has proved a blessing of incalculable magnitude to the churches now organized on the voluntary system. The Free Church in a very brief period of time became stronger than the Establishment had previously been. Its missionary operations at home and abroad are now vastly more extensive and munificent than were those of all Scotland before. Its ordinances are sustained with the most liberal zeal. Its clergy, as a body, are zealous and devoted, and a very large proportion of them have a national celebrity and influence. Meanwhile, their self-sacrifice and their fervent piety have kindled new life in the Establishment and in the various dissenting bodies that previously existed; and it is impossible that, had the event been otherwise, the collective standard of religious sentiment and practice could have approximated to its present height, or that any system of church extension could have brought so large a proportion of the people within the pale of Christian influence.

By the act of secession more than six hundred congregations were ejected from their places of worship, and their pastors were compelled to forsake their manses, and to rely on Providence for their own sustenance and that of their families. At the outset great sufferings and hardships were incurred. In many localities divine worship was celebrated in barns or in the open air; and not infrequently congregations were hunted from place to place by proprietors stubbornly attached to the Establishment. Ministers were, in not a few instances, driven from ample and comfortable homes to take shelter in leaky and unfurnished hovels; and in several cases death ensued in consequence of want and exposure, and was met in the true martyr spirit. The most vigorous measures were requisite for the collection of funds and the organization of modes of assessment for the building of churches and the support of their incumbents. Dr. Chalmers was the financial head of the Free Church, and elaborated its fiscal system with a skill and prudence which indicated the very highest order of administrative talent. Large contributions came from dissenting churches in other parts of the kingdom, and from the Presbyterian and Congregational churches of the

United States; but these, under his auspices, were received as tokens of Christian sympathy, not as resources to be relied upon, even in postponement of the most energetic measures of self-help. He persuaded his associates to seize the moment of enthusiasm for the development of a permanent system of finance, and for the immediate establishment of the educational and philanthropic organizations which would be needed to train the children of the Church, to replenish its ministry, and to extend its usefulness in the various walks of Christian benevolence. He of course lost his office in the University; but became at once, and continued till his death, Professor of Divinity in the new college established by the Free Church.

So soon as the work of organization was completed, Dr. Chalmers retired from active and official duty in the management of church affairs, and devoted all the leisure at his command to a home mission in the West-Port, a neglected, depraved, and poverty-stricken district of Edinburgh. Out of a population of two thousand, three fourths were in a condition of virtual heathenism. At the close of his labors there was a flourishing church established in the West-Port, self-sustaining, and capable of contributing seventy pounds per annum for purposes of Christian charity. There was not known to be a child who was not at school. The whole face of society was renovated, and the entire population bore the aspect of a highly industrious, moral, and religious community.

The last few months of his life were among the most serene and happy of his whole pilgrimage. He revisited his birthplace, and renewed his acquaintance with the few who remembered him in his boyhood. He made a journey to London, and enjoyed a succession of delightful interviews and hospitalities with friends old and new. Wherever he went, his presence was welcomed as a patriarch's benediction, and his conversations and letters breathed the spirit of one close on the borders of the heavenly inheritance. On Friday night, May 28, 1847, he arrived at Edinburgh on his return from this journey. On the following Monday morning his housekeeper knocked at his door to deliver a message. Receiving no answer, she entered his chamber, and drew aside the

curtains of his bed. He sat there half erect, with a tranquil expression of countenance. He had been dead for hours, and his attitude indicated that his spirit must have been translated without pain or conflict. His last evening had been peculiarly happy. His last act, before wishing "a general good-night," had been to unite in family worship. To his brother minister, who led that service, he had said, "Well, you will give worship to-night; *I expect to give worship to-morrow morning.*" In how ecstatic a sense was that expectation realized! How nobly trained was that strong, brave, meek, loving, devout spirit, for the worship of the upper sanctuary and for the fellowship of the saints in light!

In estimating the genius and services of Dr. Chalmers, the first thing that arrests our regard is his indomitable force of character. The man himself was more than any thing that he said or did. There was a reserved power, the summit-level of which was never lowered by the most imperious drains at its fountain. While his lamp was always trimmed and burning, his vessel was always overflowing with oil. He was never imperious or arbitrary, except under sudden surprise, or under difficulties which, incapable of being obviated, could only be overborne and crushed. But his quiet energy, instead of rising equal to any emergency, seemed always more than adequate to any possible emergency. He laid his plans deliberately, counted the cost, measured counteracting forces, marshalled his resources, and determined that a thing must be done, only when he had satisfied himself that it could be done. But the determination once made, he marched right onward to its execution. The signature of his indomitable energy seems to have been inscribed on his countenance, gait, and manner, so that his mere presence inspired confidence, his simplest demand enlisted coöperation, and his advocacy of the least popular cause gave it weight and worth. His power was not put forth, but rather went forth from him. Incessant and strenuous action was the normal condition of his mental and moral nature.

In all that we have said of him, it has been implied that he was evidently a man of his own times, a denizen of the present, rather than of the past or future. It was only incidentally, and without express purpose, that he

labored for posterity. Nor did he ever write any thing, so far as we remember, with the usual aim and consciousness of authorship. His voluminous works, comprising several treatises of permanent value and a large amount of Biblical comment, consist of articles for reviews and cyclopædias, parish and occasional sermons, lectures to his classes, essays on the economical questions of the day, Scriptural readings in his church, his family, and at his private devotions. The social or public interest nearest at hand, the most urgent need of the community or the nation, the latest grievance, the heresy just promulgated, the question pending before the General Assembly or the Parliament, was for the time being the foremost concern, and occupied his lips, his pen, and his secret thoughts. Even in his seasons of secluded meditation and prayer, the engrossing topic was never dropped from sight, and many were the petitions entered upon his diary, having sole and circumstantial reference to the plan, question, or negotiation then uppermost in his mind. This feature of his mental activity furnishes the standard by which his works are to be measured. They are to be regarded, not critically so much as historically, — to be judged, not by their intrinsic worth, but by their adaptation to temporary purposes. With this criterion in view, we shall not be surprised that treatises which seem defective, disjointed, and repetitiously wordy, excited, when they first appeared, universal attention and admiration, and contributed largely to the author's fame. They met the then existing need; in their seeming defects and redundancies, they were moulded by the form and pressure of the times, and had a virtual completeness and unity because they fitted into the niche which they were designed to fill.

Dr. Chalmers possessed, in a degree rarely equalled and never surpassed, that power of mental concentration which, if it be not the chief constituent, is the unvarying concomitant of genius. He never wrought with a single faculty awake and the rest dormant. Whatever he did, it was with mind, soul, and strength, with his judgment on the tribunal, with fancy on the wing, with his sympathies in the fulness of their fervor, with his devotional nature warm and active. Had he confined himself to a single department, he would have been unani-

mously pronounced a great genius. If he fails of that award, it must be by the universality of his mental enterprise. We are astonished at the range which he occupied, and are at a loss to name the department in which he excelled. Theology and pauperism, ethics and finance, mathematics and foreign missions, German metaphysics and the application of chemistry to the arts, by turns received his profoundest thoughts, and were brought under the full tension of his intellect; nor could the church or the public proffer any demand upon his services which he was not prepared and furnished to meet.

He was to a very imperfect degree a book-scholar. Except treatises of practical devotion, he read only what he was constrained to read in order to escape the imputation of ignorance. His own thoughts were his library. He viewed every subject in its intrinsic merits, and cared little for what others had said or written about it. His views were therefore original, with the unmistakable tokens of the free, independent action of his own mind. This gave a freshness and raciness to his writings, which secured for them on their first appearance a wide-spread popularity. But at the same time it detracted from their permanent interest and usefulness. Taking so little cognizance of what others had done before him, he gave clear and comprehensive first views of his subject from his own peculiar point of observation, instead of taking it up where preceding writers had left it, and submitting it to profounder research and more thorough scrutiny. We should, therefore, call him a superficial thinker and writer, though in an immeasurably higher sense than is commonly attached to those words; for his superficial glance always detected what had been before unseen, or brought familiar points into new combinations or contrasts.

We ought not to omit, in our view of his intellectual character, the system of religious self-discipline to which he was largely indebted for its vigor and fervor. Though the busiest of men, he never permitted a day to pass without its prolonged season of meditation and prayer, and in addition to this he uniformly consecrated certain days of the month and year to fasting and peculiar exercises of devotion. The glow of his communion with

God rested on all his converse with men, and visibly pervades all his works, so that on secular subjects he writes as one whose place was very near the heart of his Saviour. His external life seemed prayer in action,—the prolongation of the unfinished petition or thanksgiving of his closet; nor has he left a printed page which, with his wonderful power of devotional assimilation, he could not have easily transmuted into an address to the Deity.

Of Dr. Chalmers's style we cannot speak with admiration. He could have had only the most imperfect rhetorical training, with no ear for rhythm or euphony, and with a very sluggish intuition as to the nature and power of words. We doubt whether he was ever at pains to classify and systematize his thoughts before he began to write. He let his thoughts work themselves clear by their fermentation on paper, and we have the foam and sputter with the liquid flow for which they prepared the way. Many of his sentences and paragraphs are master-works of circumlocution and indirection. His solecisms and barbarisms in grammar and phraseology are innumerable, and clumsily coined words, to which the most hospitable lexicographer would give no quarter, perpetually occupy the place of our vernacular English. His method of eliminating a thought is that of successive approximations. He often reminds us of a painter of decided genius with no skill in the details of his art, who tries bold strokes of his brush, and lays on color after color, till at length from a chaotic *imbroglio* a limb of a tree peeps out, a bend of a river gleams upon the sight, a sunset ray shoots across the canvas, and the whole landscape gradually reveals itself. The worst of the case is, that he has raised up a horde of imitators, many of them destitute of his genius and fervor, but pranked out in his most offensive mannerisms. Not a number of the North British Review, of which he was the first editor, reaches us, without constraining the exclamation, "He, being dead, yet speaketh." The Review is given over to Chalmerisms, and among its best articles since his death there have been not a few of which, from the strongest marks of internal evidence, we should have pronounced him the author.

As to the traits of his personal character, we cannot find words adequate to convey our lofty appreciation of

Dr. Chalmers. His nature was in every aspect of massive elements and proportions. His perceptions were acute, his sensibilities keen, his passions by nature vehement. There was a roughness and jaggedness about his outline, which stood in special need of the intenerating and harmonizing influences of religion, but which, thus modified, only enhance our impression of his substantial greatness. His social sympathies were warm and ardent, and his intercourse with people of every description was marked by an honest heartiness, which comprehended the entire soul of good-breeding, while it was perpetually running athwart its conventional canons. He obeyed with more than literal exactness, because with spontaneous alacrity, the precept, Honor all men. Among his intimates were often persons of slender culture and of humble pretensions, whose virtues were in lieu of graces, and whose lore of the Bible and the heart was all their learning. Children had more than his affection, — his considerate respect and careful courtesy. He was a lover of hospitality, and from the enthusiastically grateful memorials of numerous occasions when he was the guest of others, we may deem his always open house to have been a perpetual paradise, if in this kind he indeed found it more blessed to give than to receive. He was simple in all his tastes and habits, prompt and cordial in his sympathies, and, while profoundly sensitive to the graver aspects of life, fond of wit and humor, gayety and mirth, in their season. In his intercourse with the world, we discern not the slightest trace of asceticism. Yet in the rigidness of his self-discipline he sometimes practised an almost morbid severity, especially in the matter of diet, in which he would often condemn himself for excess when he had attracted the notice of others by his abstemiousness. Lowly in his self-estimate, and deeply humbled before God under a sense of deficiency and unworthiness, he yet had the just self-appreciation and true manliness which made him always ready to take his fitting place, though it were the foremost, if it only was a place of service and of sacrifice. In early life he was ambitions of literary and still more of scientific eminence; but after the turning crisis of his religious history his ambition seemed wholly merged in his desire to be useful, and we can discern no reference to

reputation, applause, or fame, but, on the other hand, a readiness to resign all these for the cause of Christ and of man.

As a preacher, measured by his popularity and influence, he held during the greater part of his lifetime the first place among the divines of the British empire, perhaps of the world. But there is nothing in his printed sermons that can account for his immense audiences and the intense enthusiasm with which he inspired them. His sermons have all the faults of style that appertain to his more elaborate treatises, and they are faults which were more likely to obscure the meaning and to blunt the impetus of uttered discourse, than to injure the effect of the printed page. A part of his success in this department is to be ascribed to the school of preachers which he succeeded. The elegant and languid *platitudes* of Blair may stand as the representative of the reigning fashion of the Scotch pulpit for the last half of the eighteenth century. A preacher thoroughly alive, deeply in earnest, dealing with Christian doctrines as verities of infinite moment, speaking from profound experience, addressing men as imperilled sinners, was a novelty in cultivated circles and among metropolitan auditories. Then, too, there was a vastness and grandeur about his entire personality, that supplied point and gave emphasis to his utterances. He had no tricks of oratory, used but little gesture, and that little awkward, and spoke in a broad Scotch accent; but at the same time there was always the power resulting from deep conviction and fervent purpose, — from the felt assurance that he had verified in his own consciousness the Gospel which he dispensed.

His influence in his day and generation, and upon generations yet unborn, cannot be overrated. In the application of Christian principles to ethics, politics, and social economy, he held the place of a pioneer; and, though his speculations were often crude and on no subject thoroughly systematized, he gave the initial impulse to the religious philosophy of the present age. His labors for the poor in Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh were by far the most successful experiments in the aggression of Christian philanthropy upon the penury, vice, and wretchedness in great cities, and are

just beginning to give the tone to similar enterprises in Europe and America, while they make the nearest approach in modern history to a practical demonstration of the sufficiency of the Gospel remedy for the evils to which unevangelized humanity falls the prey. How successful he was in the work of university reform we have not the means of knowing. But this at least is evident from the Memoir. He found the universities in a condition in which the pupils did little and the professors less, — ancient rookeries, venerable by immemorial prescription, but imperfectly adapted to the tastes and needs of the present century; and he assumed his successive chairs of instruction as a man of the present and the future, and took every fair and lawful means to enlist the interest of colleagues, students, and the community at large in elevating and liberalizing the standard of academic education.

But it is as the leader of the evangelical movement in Scotland that his influence has been and will yet be most potently felt. And here we use the word *evangelical*, not alone in its party significance, but as designating what we regard to have been the cause of practical piety. Our doctrinal affinities, indeed, might ally us more nearly to the Moderate party. But our moral antipathies are still stronger against them. We can regard neither with sympathy nor with respect a party which maintains a formal adherence to doctrines alien from its belief. If there be such a thing as "holding the truth in unrighteousness," the censure of so doing attaches itself preëminently to those who, for the sake of ease and emolument, assent to errors which at heart they repudiate. It is a position which can hardly fail to deaden the conscience and corrupt the character. Accordingly, there had been among the Moderatists of the Scotch Church every shade of practical latitudinarianism, and among its leading divines there were, in the last century, not a few who were on terms of more cordial intimacy with the infidel *literati* of Edinburgh than was consistent with any vitality of Christian faith or experience. Chalmers took the lead in the party that vindicated its honesty, by maintaining the doctrines of the Church in their literal import. Its Confession of Faith is thoroughly Calvinistic, and only Calvinists could

fairly seek shelter within its pale. He had assumed before the disruption the leading place in its enterprises of church extension and missionary operation abroad, and through his agency systematic and vigorous organizations for these ends were instituted and carried into successful operation. Of the Free Church he was in every sense the head. We doubt whether the non-intrusion controversy would, without him, have reached its crisis, or the bold measure of secession have been devised and consummated. Still less probable is it that, under any other leadership, the new ecclesiastical organization could have grown at once into self-sustaining strength, and have taken its place as the most influential religious body in Scotland. He traversed the country to institute parochial societies for the building of churches and the support of the clergy. He trained the rising generation of ministers. He established and conducted the literary organ of the new church, which at once assumed an equal, if not a superior, position in criticism, in political economy, and in natural science, with that of the Edinburgh and the London Quarterly. His self-sacrifice, his fervent piety, his earnest philanthropy, gave the tone to the whole body of seceders, established for them a lofty standard of personal devotion and Christian propagandism, and have largely contributed to their strength in all that constitutes the vitality and efficiency of a religious body. If through the Free Church of Scotland the voluntary system in religion is to demonstrate its incontestable superiority, and ultimately to identify itself with Protestantism on British soil, (and we cannot doubt that it will,) Chalmers will transmit his name to all coming time, as the master-spirit in a reformation, hardly second in its bearing on the highest interests of Great Britain to that of which Knox was the pioneer in Scotland, and which was arrested half way in England under the semi-Romanist auspices of Elizabeth and her successors.

The Memoir under review owes its interest wholly to its subject, and not in the least to the compiler's skill. It is a huge, undigested mass of minute narrative, letters, extracts from journals, scraps of speeches, fragments of sermons, and contemporary civil and ecclesiastical history. It would bear condensation to one half of its

present volume without detriment. It must be abridged, as we think, before it can reach a second edition. Yet we have read it without weariness; for while Chalmers occupies so large a place in the general heart of Christendom, we can enjoy the most prolix details and the most superfluous repetitions. We apprehend that it has done much more for Chalmers's fame than all that ever issued from his own pen. If it fails to give us an artistical sketch of his genius and character, it supplies us with all possible materials for doing this for ourselves. It inspires us with the filial reverence and love, which would not suffer Dr. Hanna to omit the most trivial incident of his life, or the most secret record of his internal conflicts, trials, consolations, and joys. We are thankful for having been brought into such intimate communion with one of the greatest and best of men. It has refreshed and strengthened us. It has made us conversant with a spirit nobly endowed, and yet more nobly consecrated, — with an example that reflects with unrivalled clearness and beauty the traits of the all-perfect Model, — with a life in all its aspects commanding our affectionate reverence and our gratitude to Him from whom "cometh down every good and every perfect gift."

A. P. P.

Art. VI. — ON THE PHRASE, "THE WORD OF GOD."

Has God ever spoken? If we understand this phrase in its gross and literal meaning, we must answer, No, He has never spoken. But figuratively, and according to the most natural of all figures, God is speaking continually and in various ways. "Ye have neither heard his voice at any time," said our Lord to the Jews, "nor seen his shape"; and yet through that Mediator he both uttered and revealed himself. And other mediators there are, in Providence and the world's government, in human life and the human mind, through whom his speech is heard. The Hebrews were much accustomed to representations of this kind. If they would describe the

Deity as the Maker of the Universe, we are made to hear his voice. He says, Let light be, and it is. He speaks, and it is done. He commands, and all things are created. When the showers fall, and the clouds are driven along like ships with a rich lading, and the ground quickens into innumerable forms of vegetable life, it is "his word that runneth swiftly." "He saith to the snow, Be thou on the earth; likewise to the small rain and to the great rain of his strength." And they call the thunder his voice, because of its majesty, its height over their heads, its flaming arrows, and its mysterious nature which they did not understand. We propose to show the several applications of the phrase, "the word of God," which are to be found in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and then to offer a few remarks on the manner in which it is used among ourselves, or in which it will still become us to use it.

We begin, then, by referring to the Scriptures. And here we discover four leading significations, to which may be reduced all the instances that are to be found of the term in question. 1. It is employed often to denote any individual expression of the Divine will; whether in the way of command or assurance, whether addressed to man or to any other subject. Of this take the following examples: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." "The word of God came to Nathan," that he should reprove David; "to Jonah," that he should prophesy against Nineveh; "to John in the wilderness," that he should preach repentance and the coming kingdom. "His word was in my heart," says Jeremiah, "like a burning flame"; that is, the impulse which he felt to declare to his countrymen the counsel of the Lord was too strong to be restrained. "As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven," we read in Isaiah, "and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud; so shall my word be"; that is, every decree and purpose of mine shall be accomplished in blessings. "The word of the Lord is against thee," describes the Divine threatening. "The word of the Lord endureth for ever," means that the Divine promises are unfailing.

2. The second class includes those passages, in which

"the word of God" is used to denote the whole system of religious duty, and that especially which is prescribed in the Mosaic ritual. Many examples of this are found in the Book of Psalms: "I will delight in thy statutes, I will not forget thy word." "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now have I kept thy word." "Our fathers have not kept the word of the Lord," is a frequent confession of the Israelites; and when Micah and Isaiah declare that "the law shall go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem," they mean that the religion of Moses should fill the earth. "He called them gods," said Jesus, "to whom the word of God" — or the Mosaic covenant — "came." He rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees for having made that same word of none effect by their traditions.

3. We come, in the third place, to take notice of a remarkable peculiarity, which is not so easily understood, and is found only in the writings of John. He calls Christ himself the "Word of God," and the "Living Word," on account of his being the great revealer of sacred truth, the commissioned one of the Father, the Mediator between heaven and earth. On first opening his Gospel we meet with a passage which has given occasion for large volumes of controversy. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. And the Word was made flesh," — or a man, — "and dwelt among us. And we beheld his glory, as the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." To understand this, it is not necessary to enter into any refinements or learned discussions. A few words will make it clearer, perhaps, than would many. We have already seen that the Hebrews ascribed the creation of the world and all the subsequent operations of nature to the spoken commandment of God, or to his word. This they sometimes also called his wisdom; and indeed they seem to have intended by it the Divine power or intelligence or goodness as manifested in action. They soon went out into bold personifications of this attribute; of which we have a beautiful example in the Book of Proverbs. It is in the address of Wisdom to mankind: "I was set up from everlasting, from the be-

ginning, or ever the earth was. When the Lord prepared the heavens, I was there; when he set a compass upon the face of the deep. When he appointed the foundations of the earth, then I was by him, as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." But they did not end with mere personification. They afterwards came to imagine that this Word or Wisdom was literally a Being, distinct from the Deity. And this they were the sooner led to do, on account of their custom of using the name, The Word, or Lord, instead of Jehovah, which they had a superstitious fear of pronouncing. There is a passage in the apocryphal book called "The Wisdom of Solomon," which might almost lead us to suppose that this error had already taken place. The author is describing the destruction of the Egyptian first-born, and this is his language: "While all things were in quiet silence, and night was in the midst of her swift course, thine Almighty Word leaped down from heaven out of the royal throne, as a fierce warrior into the midst of a land of destruction. It touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth." Was it not then the object of John to show, that the Word, or Wisdom, was nothing distinct from God himself; that it united itself to Jesus, and thus constituted him the authorized teacher of mankind? When in the book of Revelation, also, he describes Christ as a military chief, seated on a white horse, and prevailing against all his enemies, he adds, "and his name was called the Word of God."

4. There is but one other signification remaining to be pointed out, and it is that which is the most conspicuous one in the New Testament. The Christian religion is there continually intended by "the word of God." The word is the seed, dropped in different places;—on the stones, and on the deep, rich soil. It is "preached" by the Apostles. It is here "rejected" and here "received." It is said to "grow" and "prevail." Peter says that men are "born again" by it; and John says that "it abideth in those who have overcome" evil. It is "corrupted" and "handled deceitfully" by false teachers. In all these instances and innumerable others, the Gospel is clearly designated.

Thus there are seen to be four Scriptural meanings

of the phrase, "the Word of God." It signifies any individual expression of the Divine will, whether in the way of command or assurance; our religious duties in general, and especially the Mosaic system; Jesus Christ, as a divine teacher; and his religion, as divine truth. In this enumeration we must perceive that the Scriptures, whether the Jewish or our own, are not included. When one speaks now, indeed, of the word of God, he is understood most readily to mean those two collections of sacred books. This has become the general usage, though it is nowhere authorized by the books themselves; and we are so accustomed to it, that some persons may be surprised to hear it has no such sanction. It deserves, however, to be mentioned, now that we have come to offer some reflections, as we proposed to do, on the several ways in which we of the present day apply, or may apply it.

From the early days of the Church till now, it has been common to call the Bible the word of God. If we are asked why we continue to call it so, we have but this answer to give: Because we learn there so much of the Divine character and dispensations; because its histories are so instructive, its precepts so holy, and the spirit of its devotional parts so elevated and fervent; because it is the record of those revelations which have been successively made to men, and perpetuates the memory of the most important events that were ever acted. We have no other reasons to give; but are any others required? Here is the text-book of religious instruction for a large part of the civilized world. It carries us far back to the rude states of society which it helped to improve; and it remains the light of our own better times. It contains the visions of prophets, the breathing piety of holy men, the instructions of more than the earth's wisest, the testimony of God. In the ages that have gone before us it has been a guide and deliverer, the sustainer of the heavy-laden, and the teacher of babes; and what less is it now to our passing generations? Where else will the aged find so strong a support, the young so faithful a direction, the anxious such a refuge, the afflicted such consolations? Where else is the way of safety so plainly marked, and the bitter end of transgression so fearfully told? Where else

are written down for us so many precious assurances, announced with authority and amidst the glories of "immortality brought to light"? What volume beside has so many remembrances and hopes for us, as we hasten into the land of forgetfulness? What other can prepare us so nobly for duties and trials while we live, or pour such a dirge over our dust? Where is to be discovered another book which has so enriched the store of our thoughts and expressions on the highest subjects; or from which we borrow such illustrations of the almighty sovereignty and love? Let it be found, and we will call that "the Word of God." But we shall look for it in vain. It cannot be traced in any writings of the past, or imagined to be disclosed in any future time. What waters of life ever flowed from the fossil characters of Egypt, or the arrow-headed stamps of Babylonian clay? What light is to break out from the Koran, or the old Vedas, or the Zend-Avesta, or the Chou-King? We call the Bible by so high a title, because it is so eminently profitable for doctrine, and reproof, and instruction in hope, and instruction in righteousness; and for no other cause. True, we often hear it spoken of as if that appellation literally belonged to it, — as if the Almighty could be said to have written a book. This idea is entirely without warrant. There is no sense conceivable in which it approaches the truth; unless we lapse into the astonishing theory of a plenary verbal inspiration. We cannot easily be reconciled to those lines of Watts, though we can forgive the grand Isaac almost any thing: —

> "Great God, if once compared with thine,
> How mean their writings look!"

But this is poetry. We find the following passage in a celebrated sermon: "We believe that God, when he condescends to speak and write, submits, if we may so say, to the established rules of speaking and writing." There is something extremely unpleasant and unworthy in expressions like these. With whatever freedom from superstitious and gross conceptions they may be spoken, they certainly tend to cherish such conceptions in others.

But passing from this topic, we acknowledge that Christ and his Gospel are the word of God, now, as they were in the beginning, and as they will always be.

The law of Moses is so no longer. Except in its moral commandments, it was a temporary, imperfect, political thing; and its authority is gone. But where is the authority that will ever take precedence of this covenant of promise and reign of heaven? The kingdoms of this world have flourished and fallen; but the kingdom, not of this world, standing in knowledge and goodness, shall go on to spread till the consummation of all things. This is the truth that sanctifies. This is the grace that saves. All that has just been said of the Scriptures is applicable here; for Christianity has given them all their completeness. More than it is possible to say of them might be said here, for Christianity is not letter, but spirit. It is something which its records teach and perpetuate, but which looks beyond all records; which exists in the mind as it expands, and in the heart as it grows purer. It is "the word of God" to the doubtful, the timid, the disconsolate, saying, "Fear not, nor let your heart be troubled, O ye of little faith!" It is "the word of God" over all the agitations and passions of life, with its "Peace, be still!" It is "the word of God" against "those who obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness," threatening retribution and anguish; for it declares a time when the secrets of all hearts shall be searched and made manifest and brought into judgment. It is "his word" to the contrite, — forgiveness; "his word" to the perishing, — hope; "his word" to those who every day see prosperous fortunes changing, and fair hopes blighted, and mortal things turning into decay, — "All souls are mine."

There is no desire that springs up more naturally in the mind, than that the inscrutable Being, who framed the universe and controls our whole destiny, should manifest himself to us plainly. This desire is seen in all the inventions of superstition, in the imaginations of the contemplative, in the anxious search into futurity and the breathless listenings at its dark doors, which have been common to all periods of the world. To attain such an object, the whole creation — to use the strong metaphor of the Apostle — has been in labor. "Prophets and kings desired" it; and they who had no inspiration but that of a plain understanding, and no rank but that of moral beings, have not desired or need-

ed it less. That object has been gained, and that anxiety laid to rest, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We have seen the Father, if we have known *him;* and fear is cast out if there is perfected within us the love of *him;* and we are born again into new feelings and a better country if we are truly the followers of *him.* We do not say with Philip, "Show us the Father." His Word has declared him. The distance from Him to us seems unspeakably diminished, when we discern that Mediator standing between. He is no longer unknown, though he must always be the Incomprehensible. The cloud is still on the mercy-seat; but there has come a voice from the cloud: "This is my beloved Son: hear ye him."

We may well regard as "the word of God" every dictate of an enlightened judgment, every plain prompting of conscience, every call to duty, every opportunity of rendering service, and every intimation of what he would have us perform. And to these we may add all the events that impress us with thoughts of his providence, and all the witnesses to himself in creation, that declare his being, and agency, and perfections. The first is his word within us; and it is not feebly or ambiguously spoken. Not more distinct were the intimations that came to holy men of old, when they were moved with the Holy Ghost. It teaches what to do, what to forbear, and what to expect. It reasons, warns, persuades. It entreats us by his mercy. It entreats us by his fear. It charges us on our souls. We know what it requires, without asking for a sign from heaven, as did a modern philosopher, Lord Herbert; or laying claim to a familiar spirit, as did Socrates, the wisest of the ancients. The other is his word around us. We hear it from the heavens that declare his glory, and from the earth that is full of his praise, and in the whole harmony of things. We may listen to it alike in the wondrous works which he has made, and in the course of events which he directs. It will tell us of a wise and ruling hand extended equally over them both; and more, it will remind us of that upper inheritance, where nature will suffer no death, and the joys of the blessed no reverses.

N. L. F.

Art. VII. — MACAULAY'S SPEECHES.*

Politics and general literature rarely flourish together on the same intellectual soil. So few persons, indeed, obtain eminence in both, that it should seem as though there were something incompatible in the thorough practical study of political science and the successful culture of elegant letters. In retracing the history of the last two or three centuries, not more than half a dozen names will be found alike distinguished for their political weight and their literary reputation; and in our own time we can scarcely add another name of equal brilliance to that splendid list which includes only the names of Guizot, Macaulay, and of our own all-accomplished scholar and statesman, Mr. Everett. It is true that Mr. Bancroft, Washington Irving, Lord Mahon, Mr. D'Israeli, Thiers, Lamartine, and some others, have essayed to unite literary labors with active service in diplomatic stations or in the legislative and administrative departments of government. But in neither case has equal reputation been obtained in both fields of endeavor; and it is impossible for any failure to be more signal than that which marked the political career of the sentimental Frenchman. Not one of them, in fact, unless we may except Thiers, has successfully united the characters of statesman and man of letters; and even that restless politician can only take secondary rank as an historian. Yet it should seem that the mental qualities which the highest order of statesmanship demands are precisely those which should be most largely developed in the great scholar. Both should unite great force of mind, habits of clear and precise thought, and quickness of apprehension, with broad, comprehensive views, and a ready mastery of language. Still, from some cause or another, it is an undeniable fact, that great scholars are as little likely to shine in political life as great statesmen are to win increased reputation by purely literary labors. But whether this is owing to

* *Speeches by the* Rt. Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay. M. P., Author of "The History of England from the Accession of James the Second," "Lays of Ancient Rome," "Essays from the Edinburgh Review," etc. In two volumes. New York: Redfield. 1853. 12mo. pp. 403, 401.

any intrinsic incompatibility in the two, or whether it is merely to be traced to the operation of that law of our nature which forbids the attainment of great distinction in any department of mental endeavor, except as a reward for the active and undivided exercise of all our faculties, is a question that we do not now intend to discuss. We propose to occupy narrower ground, and confine ourselves to an examination of the speeches and statesmanship of one of the most remarkable exceptions to the truth of the general rule to be found in all history.

In Mr. Macaulay we witness a remarkable union of political and literary eminence. As an essayist and an historian he has no superior now living. In Parliament he at once took high rank as an accomplished statesman; and he has twice risen to the dignity of a cabinet minister. But if his literary and his political life have generally run in parallel lines, the one has sometimes overlapped the other; and the splendor of his reputation as a man of letters has greatly overshadowed his Parliamentary fame. It cannot be doubted that many persons, in their admiration of his powers as an historian, have quite forgotten the large and important part which he took in the discussion of the Reform Bill and in various important debates since that time. Yet many of his speeches were amongst the most powerful arguments urged in those debates. Something of this ignorance of his Parliamentary oratory is perhaps due to the fact, that his speeches have never before been printed in an enduring form, except in the voluminous pages of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, and that there they are very imperfectly reported. The edition before us follows the reports in Hansard's collection; and we are sorry to say that it reproduces the obvious errors contained in them. So numerous are these errors, that we have understood that Mr. Macaulay, on a former occasion, refused his assent to a republication of the speeches, on the ground of the inaccuracy of the reports. It is greatly to be regretted that a competent editor was not employed to correct the more obvious and important errors, and to add some necessary explanatory notes. In other respects the edition is a very good one, and is entitled to public confidence as a complete collection of Mr. Macaulay's Parliamentary speeches. Besides these

speeches, the volumes also contain his brilliant and striking inaugural address as Lord Rector of Glasgow University, his speech at Edinburgh in November last, a very truculent article in defence of the Canning administration, from the Edinburgh Review, and an article, from the same journal, on the state of parties in 1827.*

The general features and characteristics of Mr. Macaulay's oratory are such as one would expect to find from an acquaintance with his writings. His style has the same grand and majestic sweep, the same affluence of historical illustration, the same keenness of wit and bitterness of sarcasm, and the same terrible power of invective. His command of words is even more remarkable in his speeches than in his essays. Always richly freighted with meaning and instinct with life, his stores of language and illustration seem to be inexhaustible. When he is at all aroused, his sentences are poured forth in an overwhelming tide of eloquence, like the swift, deep current of some mighty river, bearing down every obstacle to its passage. Scarcely less noticeable are the brilliance and fierceness of his invective. These qualities are perhaps most remarkably exhibited in some of the speeches on the Reform Bill; but in all his great political speeches there are passages which actually burn with the intensity of passion breathed into them. His incidental references to his opponents have the same intellectual fierceness and intolerance. Thus, in referring on one occasion to the party of the late Sir Robert Peel, he very summarily described them as "men whom posterity will remember by nothing but recantations";† and on a more recent occasion, Lord Maidstone has very foolishly shown how much his temper was ruffled by an incidental allusion to his unfortunate hexameters, in the address at Edinburgh.‡ But it is needless to multiply instances which will occur to every reader; for there is scarcely one of Mr. Macaulay's speeches in which his adversaries are not transfixed on some keen shaft of remorseless irony. And with all our admiration

* The date of the first of these articles is erroneously given as January, 1827. It was actually published in June, 1827. The second article, we are inclined to think, was not written by Mr. Macaulay.

† Vol. I. p. 134. ‡ Vol. II. pp. 391, 392.

of his consummate genius, we feel compelled to observe, in this connection, that there is in his speeches, as there is in his writings, an occasional coarseness of expression only too familiar to the English mind.

In strength and fervor of imagination, he is the rival of that great master of eloquence, Edmund Burke. But it is less the imagination of the poet, as Milton described him, "soaring in the high reason of his fancy, with his garland and his singing robes about him," than the imagination of the statesman, reproducing before his mind the history of all the past and unfolding before his prophetic vision the probable history of future ages. It is best seen in some splendid picture of the actual or the possible evils of misgovernment, when the whole fabric of society shall be broken in pieces by too long an opposition to the progressive spirit of the times, and an age of barbarism succeed to an age of civilization, or in some magnificent glimpse of that glorious vista which the adoption of a desired reform will open to the gaze of all men. It vitalizes and vivifies the whole course of his argument, and fuses into one harmonious picture that lavish profusion of learning and illustration which he has ever at his command. All literature and all history appear to have been absorbed by his omnivorous mind; but under the plastic force of his imagination every illustration drops into its appropriate place. No speeches, indeed, can be freer from a useless and ostentatious display of erudition and from all the multiform vices of pedantry. But whilst his imagination has so large a share in determining the form of his argument and the illustrations by which it shall be strengthened, it rarely trenches upon the province of the intellect or leads him into errors of judgment. Akin to this constant, but chastened use of the imagination, and arising from it, is his preference of the concrete over the abstract. Though seizing in one comprehensive grasp every aspect of a subject, and with a remarkable habit of generalization, he rarely indulges in abstract forms of expression. His mind deals in images rather than in abstract ideas; but his images are pictorial generalizations with wide-extended relations rather than illustrations of a single proposition. It is this statement of general ideas in a concrete form which gives such picturesqueness and

force to his style, and so fastens the attention of the reader and the listener.

Quite distinct from these qualities are the closeness and cogency of his argumentation. We sometimes, indeed, meet with a sophism or an argument of doubtful weight. But in general his propositions are strongly, clearly, and exactly stated, and are bound together with the iron clamps of logic, like one of those massive piers on our Atlantic shores, within whose immovable weight the wind and wave-shattered vessel may repose in peace. It rarely happens that the exercise of a strong and fervid imagination is found united with great logical proficiency. Yet in the case of Mr. Macaulay it is not easy to determine whether the greater admiration should be felt at the lofty and sustained flights of his imagination, or at the repeated evidences of his dialectical skill. His premises and his conclusions are linked to each other by the rigid and unbending law of logical necessity; and his best speeches are unanswerable arguments for the cause which he advocates. The whole speech is knit and compacted into one solid and perfect piece of argumentative reasoning, whilst every part glows with the fire of his imagination, the brilliance of his wit, the bitterness of his sarcasm, and the wealth of his illustrations. Educated in the law, he was early imbued with those habits of acuteness and precision of thought which it is the great and crowning glory of legal studies to create and foster. But the very limited attention which he has since paid to that science of marvellous complexity has prevented his mind from being narrowed to the contemplation of a merely technical system of government. If, as Burke contended, George Grenville was unfitted by his early legal studies for the exercise of a lofty statesmanship, the same effect has not been seen in Mr. Macaulay.* His study of history and general literature has made him a ripe scholar, without making him a pedant. His study of the law has made him a profound logician, without making him

* It is perhaps needless to say, that that eminent man, so lately removed from the sight of this community, only to be held in a more cherished remembrance, was a remarkable exception to Burke's remark. In Mr. Webster we saw a union of great forensic talents with accomplished statesmanship, to which modern history furnishes no parallel.

a logical trickster. No fallacy or sophism in his adversary's chain of reasoning escapes his penetrating glance; and, on the other hand, if you accept his premises, you can rarely withhold your assent to his conclusions, as we have already intimated.

Though Mr. Macaulay is a remarkably independent thinker, and never accepts an opinion upon the authority of another man's judgment, his political opinions in general accord with those of the English Whigs, and he has always been known as a zealous partisan. Thus he said on one occasion, when referring to the manner in which the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington was conducted on the part of Lord Ashburton: "I said before, and I now repeat, that, instead of procuring for us the blessings and advantages of peace, the course pursued has every tendency to plunge us speedily into a war with America."* And, in closing, he says: "Allowing, in the first instance, that the boundary line is not the only direct source of censure, I say that the negotiation generally has been conducted in such a manner as to lower the character of this country [England]. And secondly, I say that the negotiation has been so conducted, and the treaty has been so framed, that it has left one of the most serious causes of irritation more inflamed than before."† Certainly, such declarations as these could have been dictated by nothing but a strong party feeling; and it would not be difficult to cite numerous other instances of the same sturdy partisanship. Yet Mr. Macaulay has on several occasions separated from a large portion of his party; and he has always been in favor of extending the number of what are called in England open questions, or questions about which the different members of the government are permitted to entertain and express contrary opinions, without being subject to dismissal by the prime minister. And this leads us to observe, that Mr. Macaulay's partisanship is seen rather in the vehemence with which he espouses any cause, than in a uniform advocacy of the measures of the party to which he is attached. Accordingly, we often find him deprecating the extent to which devotion to the interests of a party is sometimes carried.

* Vol. II. p. 153. † Ibid. p. 154.

At the same time, he does not deny the necessity of party organizations under a free government. His whole view of this subject of party connections is very clearly stated in a speech on the Ballot, delivered not long before the overthrow of the Melbourne ministry, a portion of which we cite. According to the report he said: —

"He was perfectly aware that in Parliament it was impossible any thing great could be done without coöperation, and he was aware that there could be no coöperation without mutual compromise. He admitted, therefore, that men were justified, when united into a party, either in office or in opposition, in making mutual concessions, in opposing measures which they might, as individuals, think desirable, in assenting to those which they might consider objectionable, and giving their votes, not with reference to the mere terms of the question put from the chair, but with reference to the general state of political parties. All this he admitted. If there were any person who thought it wrong, he respected the tenderness of his conscience, but that person's vocation was not for a public life. That person should select a quieter path for his passage through life; one in which he might play a useful and respectable part; but he was as completely unfitted for the turmoils of political strife as a Quaker, by his religious principles, was prevented from undertaking the command of a regiment of horse. Thus far he admitted the principle of party combinations, but he admitted that they might be carried too far, — that they had been carried too far. That a member of the House should say, 'No,' to a proposition which he believed to be essentially just and necessary, — that he should steadily vote through all its stages in favor of a bill that he believed would have pernicious consequences, — was conduct which he (Mr. Macaulay) should think was not to be defended. Such a course of action was not reconcilable to a plain man, whose notions of morality were not drawn from the casuists. He only defended the principle of mutual action among political partisans as being a peculiar exception from the great general rules of political morality, and it was clear, that an exception from the great rules of political morality should be most strictly construed, that it should not be needlessly extended, and, above all, that it should not be converted into the rule. Therefore, he said, that in the members of a government, any concession of opinion which was not necessary to the efficient conduct of affairs, to cordial coöperation, was to be looked upon as unjustifiable." — Vol. I. pp. 293, 294.

Though endowed, as we have already seen, with a strong and healthy imagination, Mr. Macaulay is one of

the most practical and least theoretical of statesmen. With him no form of government is so good and so perfect as to be equally suited to all people, under all the varying circumstances of a nation's life.* He even goes further, and declares: "I will not positively say that there is any form of polity which may not, under some conceivable circumstances, be the best possible." † In his view, indeed, government exists to promote the best interests of the governed, but it is a system of concessions and compromises, where theory must give way to expediency. "For the sake of the good," he says, "we must submit to the evil; but the evil ought not to last a day longer than is necessary for securing the good." ‡ Hence he is disposed to take a middle course between the blind conservatism of the Tories on the one hand, and the headlong rashness of the Radicals on the other. "Let us shun extremes," is his doctrine, "not only because each extreme is in itself a positive evil, but also because it has been proved by experiment that each extreme necessarily engenders its opposite. If we love civil and religious freedom, let us in every day of danger uphold law and order. If we are zealous for law and order, let us prize as the best security of that law and order civil and religious freedom." § This thoroughly practical character runs through all his speeches, and underlies all his political actions. Especially is it seen in his discussion of the Copyright question, and in his unsparing ridicule of that most ridiculous and futile of all arguments by which prohibitive duties, laid on slave-grown sugar to benefit the West India colonies, were afterwards advocated as a means of putting an end to slavery. "We do not deny its use," he remarks, "to the Canadians or to the people of the Cape of Good Hope; nay, we do not deny it to the inhabitants of these very West-Indian Islands. What, then, is this moral principle, this great general law of humanity and justice, which permits a man to wear slave-grown cotton on his feet, and not taste slave-grown sugar in his tea, — which permits him to smoke slave-grown tobacco, and denies him a palatable beverage to drink with it, —

* Vol I. p. 167.
† Ibid. p. 77.
‡ Ibid. p. 392.
§ Vol. II. pp. 388, 389.

rather, which permits him the enjoyment of a cup of slave-grown coffee, but does not allow him to sweeten it with slave-grown sugar? Nay, to make the absurdity more complete, which permits slave-grown sugar to be imported into Newfoundland and Barbadoes, and which declares it shall not be admitted into Yorkshire and Lancashire?" * Thus does Mr. Macaulay bring every question to the test of a practical statesmanship; and it is this crowning quality of a statesman which has enabled him to unite so great distinction in politics with so great a literary fame.

Like nearly all the great practical statesmen of our time, he regards the security of property as the chief object for which governments are instituted. In one of his early speeches, he says, with something, indeed, of rhetorical exaggeration: "For the sake of the great institution of property, for which all other institutions exist, which is the source of all knowledge, and of all industry, I do most deeply lament to hear the sanctity that belongs to property claimed by that which is not property." † At a later period we find him adopting the same language on more than one occasion. In a debate on Church Reform in Ireland, according to Hansard's report, he argued to the following effect: "It had next been asserted that the rights of property had been attacked by this bill; this, he maintained, was an assertion; if it could be proved, he would give up the bill. The right of property was of immense importance. To preserve that, kings, and Parliaments, and coronation oaths, all existed. For that alone, law was made. Admitting the momentous nature of this consideration, he denied that the rights of property had been attacked by the framers of the bill." ‡ And to this he adds, that the ministry "felt bound to defend to the utmost the institution of property, believing, as they did, that it was to that institution mankind were indebted for the origin and the progress of civilization, — believing that it was in consequence of that institution that we were not now, like our rude ancestors, naked and painted bodies, savages feeding upon acorns and sheltering ourselves in caves." § But this regard for the institution of property

* Vol. II. pp. 42, 43.
† Vol. I. p. 94.
‡ Vol. I. pp. 233, 234.
§ Ibid. p. 234.

is still more apparent in his uniform advocacy of those measures which tend to its security, or which render its acquisition more easy, than it is in any detached phrases and sentences which we might cite from his various speeches.

Thus, while his Whig leanings permit him to feel little sympathy for the aristocracy and the landed gentry, who have always formed the strength of the Tory party, all his sympathies are with the great commercial, literary, and professional classes; and he has always opposed universal suffrage, because it would throw the chief weight in the government into the hands of those who have but a slight interest in the protection of property. "In my opinion," he says, "a pecuniary qualification is indispensably necessary to the safety of the empire."* And in his recent speech at Edinburgh, he says: "As to universal suffrage, — on that subject you already know my opinions, and I now come before you with those opinions strengthened by every thing which, since that period, has passed in Europe." † But though Mr. Macaulay repudiates universal suffrage, he has always been in favor of voting by ballot, — a system which, strangely enough, is even now opposed in England as one of the most deadly heresies that a statesman can profess. It is regarded, in fact, as something quite inseparable from universal suffrage, and the overthrow of every good institution.

Upon the subject of education and the diffusion of knowledge Mr. Macaulay's views are broad, liberal, and statesmanlike. He opposed Sergeant Talfourd's Copyright Bill vigorously and effectually, because he regarded it as liable greatly to increase the cost of books, and place other restrictions, even more objectionable, on the general diffusion of knowledge. He strongly advocated the increased grant to Maynooth College and the bill for opening the Scotch Universities to others than the members of the Established Church; and in 1847 he delivered one of his best speeches in favor of a general system of national education. "I hold," said he, on this occasion, "that it is the right and duty of the state to provide for the education of the common people." ‡ And

* Vol. I. p. 312. † Vol. II. p. 398. ‡ Ibid. p. 329.

he concludes an argument in favor of the proposition "that the education of the common people is the most effectual means of protecting persons and property," by declaring as his deliberate conviction, "that the education of the people ought to be the first concern of a state, not only because it is an efficient means for promoting and obtaining that which all allow to be the main end of government, but because it is the most efficient, the most humane, the most civilized, and in all respects the best, means of attaining that end." *

Mr. Macaulay has also always been an advocate of religious toleration. His first speech in Parliament was in favor of a bill for removing the civil disabilities of the Jews; and both through the press and from his place in Parliament he has advocated their rights. He has also constantly been in favor of the removal of all disabilities under which members of the Romish Church now labor, or under which they have labored at any time since his entrance upon public life. Nor did any one more ably support that just and merciful act, the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, which afforded so much relief to the members of our own denomination in England. Not an active or zealous member of any religious party, Mr. Macaulay has with a broad and comprehensive view advocated the rights of all. "For his own part," were his words in 1841, "he should say, that on every occasion in which an attempt was made in that House to take away any civil disability imposed upon men in consequence of their religious opinions, it should receive his most strenuous support." † By the principle involved in this declaration his whole Parliamentary course has been guided.

Passing now from this general survey of Mr. Macaulay's oratory and statesmanship, we propose, in conclusion, to offer a few remarks on some of his principal speeches, in further illustration of his political career. He entered Parliament, as is well known, in 1830, as a member for the borough of Calne, — a nomination-borough under the patronage of the Marquis of Lansdowne. His first speech was delivered in April of that year, and, as we have already remarked, was in favor of the bill for re-

* Vol. II. p. 333. † Ibid. p. 39.

moving the civil disabilities of the Jews. It was a brief but cogent argument in favor of the measure, though it exhibited little of the extraordinary brilliancy which has since marked his Parliamentary efforts, and gave, indeed, little promise of the eminence which he soon obtained. Still it is a very close, careful, and weighty argument, stated with great ingenuity, and well calculated to convince the understanding. In truth, its arguments on several points are quite unanswerable, particularly in those portions where he refutes the positions of the opponents of Jewish emancipation.

An occasion, however, soon arose, offering by far the best opportunity for a Parliamentaty orator to obtain eminence which has arisen within the memory of this generation. On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought in the Reform Bill; and with its introduction commenced that great struggle between the Whigs and the Tories, unequalled since the days of Sir Robert Walpole, which lasted for more than a year, and finally terminated in the most important triumph of the liberal party which has been achieved in England since the Revolution. Into the discussion of this great measure Mr. Macaulay entered with unsurpassed spirit and energy. His first speech upon it was delivered on the second evening of the debate, and was in every respect deserving of the praise which Sir James Mackintosh bestowed on it, when he wrote that "Macaulay and Stanley have made two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament."* In closeness of argument, in keenness of wit, and in wealth of historical illustration, it is hardly inferior to any of his subsequent speeches, whilst it is also the model on which most of them are formed. As we have on a former occasion given several extracts from this speech,† we can now cite but a single passage, which shows, however, with admirable clearness and force, the nature of that struggle which then engaged all minds. Referring to the argument against disfranchising the small boroughs because they were as large then as they were when representation was granted them, he says:—

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* Letter to Miss Allen, Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 479.
† Christian Examiner, No. 160, Art. V.

"We talk of the wisdom of our ancestors, — and in one respect at least they were wiser than we. They legislated for their own times. They looked at the England which was before them. They did not think it necessary to give twice as many members to York as they gave to London, because York had been the capital of Britain in the time of Constantius Chlorus; and they would have been amazed indeed, if they had foreseen that a city of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants would be left without representatives in the nineteenth century, merely because it stood on ground which, in the thirteenth century, had been occupied by a few huts. They framed a representative system, which was not indeed without defects and irregularities, but which was well adapted to the state of England in their time. But a great revolution took place. The character of the old corporations changed. New forms of property came into existence. New portions of society rose into importance. There were in our rural districts rich cultivators, who were not freeholders. There were in our capital rich traders, who were not liverymen. Towns shrank into villages. Villages swelled into cities larger than the London of the Plantagenets. Unhappily, while the natural growth of society went on, the artificial polity continued unchanged. The ancient form of the representation remained; and precisely because the form remained, the spirit departed. Then came that pressure almost to bursting, — the new wine in the old bottles, — the new people under the old institutions. It is now time for us to pay a decent, a rational, a manly reverence to our ancestors, — not by superstitiously adhering to what they, under other circumstances, did, but by doing what they, in our circumstances, would have done. All history is full of revolutions, produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present power. If this is granted, all is well. If this is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of one class, and the ancient privileges of another. Such was the struggle between the Plebeians and the Patricians of Rome. Such was the struggle of the Italian allies for admission to the full rights of Roman citizens. Such was the struggle of our North American colonies against the mother country. Such was the struggle which the *Tiers Etat* of France maintained against the aristocracy of birth. Such was the struggle which the Catholics of Ireland maintained against the aristocracy of creed. Such is the struggle which the free people of color in Jamaica are now maintaining against the aristocracy of skin. Such, finally, is the struggle which the middle classes in England are maintaining

against an aristocracy of mere locality, — against an aristocracy, the principle of which is to invest a hundred drunken potwallopers in one place, or the owner of a ruined hovel in another, with powers which are withheld from cities renowned to the farthest ends of the earth for the marvels of their wealth and of their industry." — Vol. I. pp. 81, 82.

But Mr. Macaulay's exertions in behalf of Reform did not end with this magnificent plea. During the discussion of the three successive bills he delivered eight speeches, each of which is a masterpiece of persuasive and convincing oratory. Taken together, they constitute one of the most remarkable series of speeches ever delivered upon any one subject. Nothing which the most complete mastery of dialectics, the most brilliant imagination, the fiercest invective, or the greatest command of historical illustrations can impart, is wanting to their complete success. Admirable as were the speeches of Lord John Russell and Mr. Stanley (the present Earl of Derby) in the House of Commons, and of Earl Grey in the Upper House, these speeches of Mr. Macaulay will lose little by a comparison with the best of them. It is not easy, nor is it necessary to our present purpose, to determine the relative rank of his different speeches delivered at this time; but we are inclined to give the preference to the speech on the third reading of the second Reform Bill, in September, 1831, and to that on the third reading of the third bill, in March, 1832.

In 1832 he was chosen a member of the First Reformed Parliament, for the great manufacturing city of Leeds; but upon the passage of the bill renewing and altering the charter of the East India Company, he was appointed to an important position at Calcutta, and soon after vacated his seat and proceeded to India. Previously to his appointment, however, he delivered a very able speech on the general affairs of the country, two powerful speeches on Irish questions, and that splendid speech on the East India Charter, which for the brilliancy of its historical pictures and the wonderful minuteness of its research stands unrivalled amongst the great efforts of his Parliamentary life. Indeed, few persons who have read it will think its merits were exaggerated either by Lord Jeffrey or Lord Canterbury, when the former wrote to his friend and biographer, Lord Cockburn: "Mac.

is a marvellous person. He made the very best speech that has been made this session on India, a few nights ago, to a House of less than fifty. The Speaker, who is a severe judge, says he rather thinks it the best speech he ever heard." * In it the orator first traces with transcendent ability the history of the East India possessions, and of the connection of the East India Company with them, and then passes to a most careful and statesmanlike explanation of the provisions which it was proposed should be ingrafted on the new charter. One or two extracts will afford our readers an idea of the manner in which the subject is treated. Referring to the political power of the Company he says: —

"It is true that the power of the Company is an anomaly in politics. It is strange — very strange — that a joint-stock society of traders, — a society, the shares of which are daily passed from hand to hand, — a society, the component parts of which are perpetually changing, — a society, which, judging *à priori* from its constitution, we should have said was as little fitted for imperial functions as the Merchant Tailors' Company or the New River Company, — should be intrusted with the sovereignty of a larger population, the disposal of a larger clear revenue, the command of a larger army, than are under the direct management of the executive government of the United Kingdom. But what constitution can we give to our Indian empire which shall not be strange, — which shall not be anomalous? That empire is of itself the strangest of all political anomalies. That a handful of adventurers from an island in the Atlantic should have subjugated a vast country divided from the place of their birth by half the globe, — a country which at no very distant period was merely the subject of fable to the nations of Europe, — a country never before violated by the most renowned of Western conquerors, — a country which Trajan never entered, — a country lying beyond the point where the phalanx of Alexander refused to proceed; — that we should govern a country ten thousand miles from us, — a territory larger and more populous than France, Spain, Italy, and Germany put together, — a territory, the present clear revenue of which exceeds the present clear revenue of any state in the world, France excepted, — a territory inhabited by men differing from us in race, color, language, manners, morals, religion; — these are prodigies to which the world has seen nothing similar. Reason is confounded. We interrogate the past in vain. General rules are

* Life of Lord Jeffrey (American edition), Vol. II. p. 206.

almost useless where the whole is one vast exception. The Company is an anomaly; but it is part of a system where every thing is [an] anomaly. It is the strangest of all governments; but it is designed for the strangest of all empires." — Vol. I. pp. 255, 256.

In another part of the speech, when defending the manner in which certain appointments were to be made, he incidentally offers some very just remarks on the general subject of education. He observes: —

"It is said, I know, that examinations in Latin, in Greek, and in mathematics are no tests of what men will prove to be in life. I am perfectly aware that they are not infallible tests; but that they are tests I confidently maintain. Look at every walk of life, — at this House, — at the other House, — at the Bar, — at the Bench, — at the Church, — and see whether it be not true, that those who attain high distinction in the world are generally men who were distinguished in their academic career. Indeed, Sir, this objection would prove far too much even for those who use it. It would prove, that there is no use at all in education. Why should we put boys out of their way? Why should we force a lad, who would much rather fly a kite or trundle a hoop, to learn his Latin grammar? Why should we keep a young man to his Thucydides or his Laplace, when he would much rather be shooting? Education would be mere useless torture, if, at two or three and twenty, a man who has neglected his studies were exactly on a par with a man who has applied himself to them, — exactly as likely to perform all the offices of public life with credit to himself and with advantage to society. Whether the English system be good or bad is not now the question. Perhaps I may think that too much time is given to the ancient languages, and to the abstract sciences. But what then? Whatever be the languages, whatever be the sciences, which it is, in any age or country, the fashion to teach, those who become the greatest proficients in those languages and those sciences will generally be the flower of the youth, — the most acute, — the most industrious, — the most ambitious of honorable distinctions. If the Ptolemaic system were taught at Cambridge, instead of the Newtonian, the senior wrangler would nevertheless be in general a superior man to the wooden spoon. If, instead of learning Greek, we learned the Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee the best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of these accomplishments. If astrology were taught at our universities, the young man who cast nativities

best, would generally turn out a superior man. If alchemy were taught, the young man who showed most activity in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone would generally turn out a superior man." — Vol. I. pp. 267–269.

In 1838, Mr. Macaulay returned to England, and was soon after elected to Parliament from Edinburgh. Having joined the Melbourne Ministry, as Secretary at War, he took an active part in all the debates which marked the close of that administration. His principal speeches previous to its overthrow were upon Irish questions, which he has invariably discussed with striking ability, on the ballot, the war with China, and in opposition to Sergeant Talfourd's Copyright Bill. His speech on this subject in particular is one which can scarcely be too highly praised, whether we consider the unanswerable weight of its arguments, the exceeding appropriateness of the illustrations by which they are enforced, or the liberal and just spirit which animates it. But the most powerful speech that he ever delivered, we think, is that delivered in January, 1840, upon confidence in the ministry. It unites in larger measure than any of his other speeches those peculiar qualities to which he owes his reputation as a statesman and orator. We extract two historical pictures drawn with wonderful power and skill. Arguing that Sir Robert Peel, if he should succeed in displacing the Melbourne Ministry, would lose the support of one portion of his own party and would not gain the support of the other so as to construct a strong administration, he retraces the history of the Wellington and Peel Ministry in the following eloquent passage: —

"Sir, we have not to act in this merely upon conjecture. We have beheld the same piece performed on the same scene, and by the same actors, at no distant period. In 1827, the Right Hon. Baronet was, as now, at the head of a powerful opposition. He had a strong minority in this House, and a majority in the House of Lords; he was the idol of the Church and of the Universities; and all those who dreaded change, all those who were hostile to the principles of liberty and the rights of conscience, considered him their leader; he was opposed to those members who were sometimes called Papists, and sometimes idolaters; he was opposed to a government which was said to have obtained power by personal intrigue and court favor. At last the Right Hon. Baronet rises to the principal place in this

House. Free from those difficulties which had embarrassed him, he was in opposition when Tory bigotry had found for the greatest orator, and the most accomplished of Tory statesmen in the nineteenth century, a resting-place in Westminster Abbey, and the Right Hon. Baronet appeared at the head of government upon this bench, and those who had raised him to power with the loudest acclamations deemed that their expectations must necessarily be accomplished. Is it necessary to say in what disappointment, in what sorrow, in what fury, all those expectations ended? The Right Hon. Baronet had been raised to power by prejudices and by passions in which he had no share. His followers were bigots; he was a statesman. He was calmly balancing conveniences and inconveniences, whilst they were ready to prefer confiscation, proscription, civil war, to the smallest concession to public feeling. The Right Hon. Baronet attempted to stand well with his party, and at the same time to perform some part of his duty to his country. Vain effort! His elevation, as it had excited the hopes and expectations of his own party, awakened gloomy apprehensions in other quarters. Agitation in Ireland, which for a time had slumbered, awakened with renewed vigor, and became more formidable than ever. The Roman Catholic Association rose to a height of power such as the Irish Parliament in the days of its independence never possessed. Violence engendered violence; scenes such as the country for long years had not witnessed, announced that the time of evasion and delay was passed. A crisis was arrived, in which it was absolutely necessary for the government of the day to take one part or the other. A plain and simple issue was proposed to the Right Hon. Baronet, — either to disgust his party or ruin his country. He chose the good path; he performed a painful, in some sense a humiliating, but in point of fact a most truly honorable part. He came down himself to propose to this House the great measure of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Amongst the followers of the Right Hon. Baronet, there were some, who, like himself, had considered opposition to the Catholic claims purely as a matter of expediency. These readily changed about, and consented to support his altered policy. But not so the great body of those who had previously followed the Right Hon. Baronet. With them opposition to the Roman Catholics was a passion, which a mistaken sense of duty bound them to cherish. They had been deceived, and it would have been more agreeable for them to think that they had been deceived by others than one of their own sect, — one whom they themselves had been the means of raising to a permanent place in the administration of the country. How profound was their indignation! With what an explosion did their rage break forth! None

who saw that time can ever forget the frantic fury with which the former associates of the Right Hon. Baronet assailed their quondam chief. Never was such a torrent of invective and calumny directed against one single head. All history and all fiction were ransacked by his own followers to furnish terms of abuse and obloquy. The Right Hon. gentleman, whom I am sorry not now to see in his place on the bench opposite, unable to express his feelings in the language of English prose, pursued his late chief with reproaches drawn from the writings of the deserted Dido. Another, wresting to his use the page of holy writ, likened him to Judas Iscariot. The great University, which heretofore had been proud to confer upon him the highest marks of its favor, was now foremost to fix upon him the brand of disgrace and infamy. Men came up in crowds from [to] Oxford to vote against him, whose presence a few days before would have set the bells of all their churches jingling. The whole hatred of the High Church party towards those to whom they had previously been opposed, was sunk and absorbed in this new aversion; and thence it happened that the Ministry, which in the beginning of 1828 was one of the strongest that the country ever saw, was at the end of 1829 one of the weakest that a political opponent could desire to combat. It lingered on another year, struggling between two parties, leaning now on the Whigs, now on the Tories, — reeling sometimes beneath a blow from the right, sometimes from a blow on the left, — certain to fall as soon as the two parties should unite in their efforts to defeat it. At last it fell, attacked by the whole body of the Church, and of the Tory gentry in England. Now, what I wish to know is this: What reason have we to believe, that, from an administration now formed by the Right Hon. Baronet, we could [can] anticipate any different result?" — Vol. I. pp. 320–322.

To this singularly condensed and vivid historical sketch we need add but a single extract. Contrasting Ireland under Tory rule, and Ireland under the Whigs, he uses the following language, hardly, if in any degree, inferior in brilliancy of description to the passage which we have just quoted: —

"It is upon these grounds, and principally upon the question of Ireland, that I should be inclined to rest the case of the present Ministry. I know well, how little chance there is of finding here or anywhere an unprejudiced audience upon this subject. Would to God that I were speaking to an audience that would judge this great controversy fairly, and with an unbiassed mind, and as it will be judged by future ages. The passions which inflame us, the sophistries which delude us, will not last for

ever. The paroxysms of faction have their appointed season, even the madness of fanaticism is but for a day. The time is coming when our conflicts will be to others as the conflicts of our forefathers are to us; when our priests who convulse the state, our politicians who make a stalking-horse of the Church, will be no more than the Harleys and Sacheverells of a by-gone day; and when will be told, in a language very different from that which now draws forth applause at Exeter Hall, the story of these troubled years. Then it will be said that there was a portion of the empire which presented a striking contrast to a portion of the rest. Not that it was doomed to sterility, for the soil was fruitful and well watered, — nor that it wanted facilities for commerce and trade, for its coasts abounded in havens marked by nature to be the marts of the whole world, — not that the people were too proud to improve these advantages, or too pusillanimous to defend them, for in endurance of toil and gallantry of spirit they were conspicuous amongst the nations, — but the bounty of nature was rendered unavailable from the tyranny of man. In the twelfth century this fair country was a conquered province, the nineteenth found it a conquered province still. During the interval many great changes took place in other parts of the empire, conducing in the highest degree to the happiness and welfare of mankind; but to Ireland they brought only aggravation and misery. The Reformation came, bringing with it the blessings of Divine truth and intellectual liberty. To Ireland it brought only religious animosity, to add flame and fuel to the heats of national animosity, and to give in the name of 'Papist' another war-cry to animate the struggle between England and Ireland. The Revolution came, bringing to England and Scotland civil and religious liberty, — to Ireland it brought only persecution and degradation. In 1829 came Catholic Emancipation, but it came too late, and came too ungraciously, — it came as a concession made to fear; it was not followed nor accompanied by a suitable line of policy. It had excited many hopes, — it was followed by disappointment. Then came irritation and a host of perils on both sides. If agitation produced coercion, coercion gave rise to fresh agitation; the difficulties and danger of the country thickened on every hand, until at length arose a government which, all other means having failed, determined to try the only means that have never yet been fairly and fully applied to Ireland, — humanity and justice. The state, so long the step-mother of the many, and the mother only of the few, became now the common parent of all the great family. The great body of the people began to look upon the government as a kind and beneficent parent. Battalion after battalion, squadron after squadron, was withdrawn from the shores

of Ireland; yet every day property became more secure, and order more manifest. Such symptoms as cannot be counterfeited — such as cannot be disguised — began to appear; and those who once despaired of that great portion of the commonwealth began to entertain a confident hope that it would at length take its place among the nations of Europe, and assume that position to which it is entitled by its own natural resources, and by the wit and talent of its children. This, I feel, the history of the present government of Ireland will one day prove." — Vol. I. pp. 328 – 330.

The storm which awoke such magnificent bursts of eloquence temporarily subsided; and the Melbourne Ministry contrived to drag out a lingering and impotent existence for another year. Upon its overthrow Sir Robert Peel became head of the government, and Mr. Macaulay ranged himself as one of the principal leaders of the Whig opposition. During the six years in which he occupied this position, he delivered a large number of speeches, sometimes upon subjects not strictly of a political nature, sometimes in cordial support of measures to which Sir Robert Peel could not rally his own supporters, and sometimes in fierce opposition to the government. Several of them are among the finest and ablest speeches which he ever delivered. But we have already entered so fully into his characteristics as an orator, and his principles as a statesman, that it would only needlessly extend this article to give a particular estimate of each. A very brief notice of a few of them is all that seems to be required.

Of the non-political speeches, that in opposition to Lord Mahon's Copyright Bill is doubtless the ablest; and though it is especially devoted to exhibiting the defects of that bill, its statement of the general principles which should be followed in the enactment of any law for the protection of authors, is remarkably clear, concise, and weighty. The speech on the Income Tax, delivered only a few days afterwards, was a bold, vigorous, and well-considered attack on the ministerial scheme, which possesses, however, little of permanent value or interest. Another speech, similar in its character, but of even greater ability than this, is his fierce attack on the Indian policy of Lord Ellenborough, as shown in his Lordship's proclamations, and in his proceedings in re-

gard to the restoration of the temple of Somnauth. The speech upon the Treaty of Washington, as we have already intimated, is one that does little credit to the orator's candor and fairness, though it is an ingenious assault on the foreign policy of the government. The speeches upon Ireland, in July, 1843, and February, 1844, exhibit those broad, clear views, and that thorough acquaintance with the history of the subject, which so largely characterize his Irish speeches. Indeed, if we were to select those speeches of Mr. Macaulay which would give an ordinary reader the best idea of his powers, we should award the preference to those on Irish questions and to those in which Ireland is the principal topic, next after the speeches upon the Reform Bill. The speech in favor of the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, to which allusion has already been made, besides an admirable elucidation of the particular reasons to be urged in favor of that most just and honorable measure, contains some very ingenious and weighty arguments against religious intolerance in general, which show how deeply seated are Mr. Macaulay's opinions on this subject. And a similar remark will apply with equal force to the two speeches in favor of the increased grant to Maynooth College, and to the speech on the Scotch Universities, delivered in the following year. The same liberal and enlightened views are also apparent in the masterly speech in favor of the government plan of education, of which Mr. Macaulay was one of the most zealous and efficient supporters. This speech, with the exception of some able but, as we think, unsound observations on affairs in Portugal, ends the list of his oratorical triumphs during his second term of Parliamentary service.

The earnest support which he had given to the Maynooth College grant had aroused the fears of the stiff and bigoted Presbyterians of Scotland, many of whom doubtless remembered with indignation his hearty advocacy of the Dissenters' Chapel Bill. Consequently, in 1847, he failed of a reëlection from Edinburgh; and though it would have been easy for him, a cabinet minister, to obtain a place in Parliament, he determined to forsake public life. "I have quitted politics," he said in a very able speech at Glasgow in 1849, which we regret

is not included in the collection before us. "I quitted them without one feeling of resentment, without one feeling of regret, and betook myself to pursuits for which my temper and my tastes, I believe, fitted me better. I would not willingly believe that, in ceasing to be a politician, I relinquish altogether the power of rendering any service to my country. I hope it may still be in my power to teach lessons which may be profitable to those who still remain on the busy stage which I have left." It was well in this hour of defeat that the statesman was also a man of letters, and that, in the retirement which he now sought, he could "resume with alacrity a task under the magnitude and importance of which he had sometimes felt his mind ready to sink."

But there were many in that ancient capital, which to its historical renown has in our time added so great a literary fame, who keenly felt the stain inflicted upon their fair name by the rejection of one, who, above most men, unites a splendid literary reputation with political eminence; and they determined to wipe off the reproach. They have done so nobly and generously. In the general election of last year, Mr. Macaulay was triumphantly elected, without any solicitation on his part, or any previous address to the electors, such as it is the custom of candidates for Parliament to make in exposition of their views and principles. The whole proceeding was alike honorable to the citizens of Edinburgh and complimentary to Mr. Macaulay himself. And now he has entered, under happy omens, upon his third term of political service, with a brilliant future opening before him. But it will be matter of profound regret to every lover of literature, if his devotion to the honorable duties of a manly statesmanship shall lead him to sacrifice any part of that immortal fame which awaits him as the historian of England.

C. C. S.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Hippolytus and his Age: or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared. By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN. 4 vols. Post 8vo. pp. 352, 359, 384, 512.

THESE volumes present to us a sketch of the doctrine, ritual, discipline, and practice of the Christian Church in the earliest part of the third century. The materials for the sketch are drawn chiefly from an ancient book, discovered in 1842 by a Greek whom M. Villemain sent to Mount Athos in search of literary treasures. The manuscript, one of a large collection, was written in the fourteenth century, on cotton paper, and was registered as a treatise "On all Heresies." For two or three years it lay almost unnoticed in the great National Library, until M. Emanuel Miller, an officer in that institution, and an eminent Greek scholar, was attracted by some fragments it contained of Pindar and another lyric poet who was unknown. His curiosity was awakened; and on further examination of the work, M. Miller concluded that it was a treatise of Origen, long supposed to have been lost. As such he offered it, in 1850, to the University Press at Oxford, where it was generously printed and published in 1851. A more complete and accurate edition, under the superintendence of M. Miller, will soon be published in Paris.

This work M. Bunsen believes to be the genuine production of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, — the new harbor of the Tiber opposite Ostia, — and an eminent member of the Roman Presbytery. He lived about the year 225, and was consequently not very far removed from the Apostolical age, being the pupil of Irenæus, whose teacher, Polycarp of Ephesus, was the immediate disciple of the Apostle John. Of his life, or his death by martyrdom, very little is known. But the students of Christian antiquities have long been familiar with his name; and it is natural enough that the question of his authorship should give rise to much discussion.

The first volume of M. Bunsen's book contains, in five letters to Archdeacon Hare, a critical inquiry into the genuineness of the newly discovered treatise, an extended analysis of its contents, and an examination into the authenticity of other writings ascribed to Hippolytus, with an account of the theological and ecclesiastical character of his age. The second volume opens with a series of "Aphorisms on the Philosophy of the History of

Mankind, and in particular on the History of Religion"; to which succeed, "Historical Fragments on the Life and Consciousness of the Ancient Church, and of the Age of Hippolytus in particular," with a double appendix, "On the Christian Sacrifice," and "On the Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles." Volume third presents to us, "The Life of the Ancient Church, by Education, Baptism, and Worship, in Government and Social Relations." In the fourth volume the results of the previous investigations are repeated in the form of an "Apology" which St. Hippolytus is supposed to address to the people of England, one thousand six hundred and sixteen years after his martyrdom. The whole is then concluded by a collection of the genuine Liturgies of the ancient Church. This general summary does not convey the least idea of the manifold contents of these volumes, every one of which is a treasury of learning and thought of the most varied kind. The work is sadly wanting in unity; the several portions hang loosely together; it abounds in repetitions. But we cannot withhold our admiration of the research, the sagacity, the minute and careful scholarship, which the author has displayed. M. Bunsen is not wholly free from theological prepossessions. Portions of the book have a polemical tone, which is ill suited to a grave historical inquiry. At times it seems as if he used the treatise of the old Roman Bishop to give a show of authority to his own religious opinions. But this may be harsh judgment. M. Bunsen is no vulgar partisan; he treats all with an equal freedom. On the one hand, he speaks with heartiest indignation of the Tübingen school of criticism; on the other, he speaks almost disrespectfully of the "candid and judicious Lardner," whose system "was built on the worst parts of Eusebius's history and the conventual sayings of Jerome," — whose "view centres in the unhistorical and unreasonable assumption, that every canonical book must be supposed to be written by an Apostle in order to possess Apostolic authority."

It must be apparent on first sight that a treatise by Hippolytus "On all Heresies," must have many interesting bearings. We can barely allude to one or two of these.

1. M. Bunsen attaches great importance to the testimony it gives in favor of the genuineness of the fourth Gospel. For some years past, eminent scholars of the Tübingen school have labored with alarming signs of success to show that the Gospel of John could not have been written before the year 165 or 170. External evidence to the contrary was too weak to resist their relentless criticism; internal evidence was claimed as in their favor. Now M. Bunsen tells us that the treatise of Hippolytus contains quotations of Basilides from this Gospel, as early as the year 120. He does not cite the passages for his readers' benefit, but

for himself he has no doubt that the hypothesis of Baur and Schwegler is demolished. This may be so; we trust it is. It must be remembered, however, that we have not Basilides himself in 117, but only Hippolytus's report of Basilides in 255; we must allow, too, for possible misinterpretation of language; and, above all, we must not fail to notice M. Bunsen's frank confession here, that "the text is full of corruptions and difficulties."

2. In regard to doctrine, the views of St. Hippolytus, this distinguished Bishop of Rome, would be eminently unsatisfactory to almost all modern orthodox believers. The Athanasian Trinity he could not have comprehended; had it existed in his day, he would doubtless have classed it as the 33d heresy, or possibly as the first. The Nicene Trinity would not have been quite intelligible to him. In the Sabellian theory he might have recognized a resemblance to his own. Yet was he no Sabellian; for although his formulas were worded like those of Sabellius, his theological position was very different. Neither was St. Hippolytus an Arian; and far less was he a Humanitarian. His doctrine respecting Christ was little more than an amplification of the proem to the fourth Gospel. God is the Logos, or Eternal Reason, which becomes incarnate in the Son. The personality of the Son is *out of* the Logos; the Holy Spirit has no personality.

3. By far the most interesting and elaborate portion of the work before us relates to the Christian ordinances. By the rite of Baptism the believer or convert was received into the Church. Three years of instruction and preparation were necessary ere this final step could be taken, and the ceremony was preceded by a public confession of faith, and by a solemn pledge "for life and death" to live for God and one's neighbor, not for the world and self. The examination of candidates touching their character, occupation, and even their physical condition, was very strict. The slave, even of a heathen, must bear a good reputation for honesty and purity of conduct. The master of slaves must give his servants, of both sexes, an opportunity of entering into married life, and must forbid all immoral connections. The harlot must leave her harlotry, and the maintainer of harlots his infamous trade. Soldiers were admitted on similar conditions to those prescribed by John the Baptist. Of course, under such circumstances, baptism was administered only to adults, who were capable of moral determination, and were responsible for it. "Pedobaptism, in the more modern sense," says M. Bunsen, "meaning thereby baptism of newborn infants, with the vicarious promises of parents or other sponsors, was utterly unknown to the early Church; not only down to the end of the second, but indeed to the middle of the third century." The pledge was made intelligently and freely. The keeping it was the condition

of continuance in the Church; its infringement entailed repentance or excommunication.

We should despair of giving, in a few words, the Eucharistic doctrine that prevailed at this early period; a subject upon which M. Bunsen dwells at very great length. Let it suffice to say, that this ceremonial act "was the thankful sacrifice of self, a vow which was to be pledged here, to be sealed in the Lord's Supper, and realized by continual struggle in life to promote the kingdom of God." The bread and wine were symbols. "The internal action was the sacrifice on the part of the Church, in gratitude for the mercies and blessings of God, with especial thankful remembrance of the sacrificial death of Jesus." This view is repeated in all parts of M. Bunsen's work, and is justified by a vast amount of learning. In respect to public worship, it is interesting to know that it was free and simple, wholly wanting in what we call liturgical forms. The Pater Noster was the only prescribed prayer, and that was used statedly at the Communion alone. "The idea of reading prayers seems to have been particularly abhorrent to the ancient Church at this solemn time." The sermon was an extemporaneous performance. Psalms were sung from psalm-books. There was liberty of teaching and praying in the congregation; for the Spirit was given to every believer.

4. No form of Episcopacy is countenanced by Hippolytus. He was no Papist. He acknowledged "no divine right in the Bishop of Rome to decide all doctrinal questions, and to govern Christendom either by his own decisions, or by his privilege of confirming or annulling the decrees of Councils." He even places the Roman Church in distinct opposition to the "Catholic Church." The Church was the Christian people; the bishops merely bore witness to the Spirit which the Apostles received; it was not their exclusive gift. There was no Levitical priesthood in the Church; its ministers exercised no mediatorial function. Still, "in the time of Callistus, the power of the Bishop of Rome was already more absolute than constitutional." "Although legislation was vested in a collegiate body, — in the presbytery or the body of presbyters, presided over by the bishop, — and the judicial power entirely so, the real government of the Church was in the hands of the bishop." Steps were even taken towards the celibacy of the clergy. A presbyter who lost his wife could not marry again so long as he kept the office. He who had a second or third wife ought not to be made a presbyter. No unmarried presbyter could, during his office, be married.

Such are only a few of the points upon which the treatise of St. Hippolytus, or rather M. Bunsen, speaking in the name of St. Hip-

polytus, throws light. Could we be certain that this manuscript was the genuine production of so eminent a person, and that its text was reasonably pure, we should agree with M. Bunsen in regarding it as one of the most valuable monuments of early Christianity. But we wish the argument in the first volume were a little more conclusive than we find it. M. Bunsen makes it satisfactorily clear that the book was not written by Origen or Caius. The evidence of its being the work of Hippolytus is not so full. Here is the proof. 1. A work bearing the same title is mentioned as the writing of Hippolytus, by Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria. 2. Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, speaks distinctly of a book of this character by Hippolytus, in his "Bibliotheca." His description of the work corresponds, in several particulars, with the newly found treatise. The author follows the same arrangement as that indicated by Photius, the heresies succeed each other in like order, and end with the Noetians. The book, like that which Photius read, contains the enumeration and refutation of just thirty-two heresies; and, finally, in conformity with Photius's account, is based upon a writing of Irenæus, of which it is an enlargement. This evidence is certainly strong, if it is not conclusive. But there are one or two weak places which the Chevalier, with all his learning and ingenuity, can neither conceal nor fortify. The work mentioned by Photius began with the Dositheans, whereas our treatise commences the list of heresies with the Naasseni, and does not name the Dositheans at all. According to Photius, Hippolytus in his book calls in question the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews. M. Bunsen's manuscript has no reference to Hebrews whatever. Moreover, Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, quotes in his letter a passage from Hippolytus, about the heresy of the Quartodecimani, which nowhere appears in the text as we have it. Nor is this all the difficulty. The Cathedra upon which the statue of St. Hippolytus is seated bears inscribed a catalogue of his writings: therein is *not* contained this treatise on the Heresies. All these objections the learned author endeavors with much erudition to meet, bringing the power of conjecture to aid the weakness of proof. Would that he had convinced us as firmly as he has convinced himself. On the whole, however, we are inclined to believe that a genuine work of Hippolytus has been discovered; but until its authenticity is made more manifest, no considerable weight can be attached to its contents.

Even if we could grant all that M. Bunsen claims, that an undoubted writing of Hippolytus has come to light, it is evident, from his own frequent confessions, as well as from his numerous conjectural emendations, that the present text must be ex-

ceedingly corrupt. From the work before us, it might be inferred that it was too corrupt for restoration. Under this impression, we cannot anticipate any great results from the new discovery. All we dare to hope is, that it may provoke a new and thorough discussion of the important matters it suggests. There are those who heartily pray that the noble author may be in the right, and may be able to defend the right.

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1. *Two Sermons preached before the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston, on the 14th and 21st of November, 1852, on leaving their Old and entering a New Place of Worship.* By Theodore Parker. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.
2. *Branches and Garments. Two Modes of honoring Christ. A Sermon.* By Hasbrouck Davis. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

These sermons are noticeable, because they are intended to be an exposition of the views held by their authors respecting the authority of the Christian religion. On this point Mr. Parker's position may be understood from the following declarations: —

"I do not believe there ever was a miracle, or ever will be; everywhere I find law, — the constant mode of operation of the infinite God. I do not believe in the miraculous inspiration of the Old Testament or the New Testament. I do not believe that the Old Testament was God's first word, nor the New Testament his last. The Scriptures are no finality to me. . . . . I do not believe the miraculous origin of the Hebrew Church, or the Buddhist Church, or the Christian Church; nor the miraculous character of Jesus. I take not the Bible for my master, nor yet the Church; nor even Jesus of Nazareth for my master. I feel not at all bound to believe what the Church says is true, nor what any writer in the Old or New Testament declares true. . . . . He [Jesus] is my best historic ideal of human greatness; not without errors, not without the stain of his times, and, I presume, of course not without sins; for men without sins exist in the dreams of girls, not in real fact: you never saw such a one, nor I, and we never shall."

Mr. Davis expresses his views on the subject of Christ's mission and authority in these terms: —

"Christ was a man, tried in all points, yet superior to temptation. As a man he lived like other men, though of his personal history we can know but little. As a man he wrought no miracles. He neither healed the sick, nor did his voice ever transcend that bourne whence no traveller returns. . . . . He is no Mediator. The race, with its upspringing affections and its clear-eyed reverence, wants and will have none."

In a note he adds: —

"An absolute miracle is an absolute impossibility. . . . . We who

understand the unity of nature, and that all things come from God, ought therefore to understand the impossibility of miracles, as recorded in the sacred and other histories."

This language is so explicit, that it can hardly be misunderstood by those who wish to understand it. It is intended to be a disavowal of faith in the supernatural authority of the Christian religion. Both Mr. Parker and Mr. Davis publish these expositions of their views, because they do not wish to be classed among those who believe in the supernatural endowments or authority of Christ, and because they wish their true position to be understood.

In these sermons, of course, much more is said, and often well said, on many other topics. Surprise is sometimes expressed that those who reject the authority of Christianity should give utterance to so many Christian ideas. On the contrary, it would be surprising if the main part of their ideas on moral subjects were not in harmony with Christianity. Though rejecting the religion, their authors have grown up amidst Christian institutions, have been trained under Christian influences, have breathed an atmosphere made vital with Christian ideas, and formed their own habits, we suppose, while believers in the authority of Christ. The notions of God, of man, of duty and futurity, received into the mind of childhood, probably still remain, though their early faith in the Great Teacher is gone; as light remains in the sky long after the sun has sunk below the horizon. Such men, educated under Christian influences, are not, so far as character is concerned, the proper representatives of unbelief. The moral consequences which must result from the rejection of Christianity cannot be seen, till a generation grows up under the training of scepticism.

For whatever is valuable in these sermons their authors are indebted to Christianity. That which is peculiar to them is not that they state many truths and duties, but that, in teaching others, they reject the authority of the religion to which they themselves owe their best ideas of truth and duty. They cut away the roots of the tree which has borne good fruit for themselves, and expect that the sapless trunk will still go on bearing fruit abundantly for others. They undermine the corner-stone of the home that has sheltered them, and expect that the walls will stand as strong as ever for the shelter of their children.

It is not, however, our purpose to discuss the merits of their views, but merely to state them. To understand them, it should be observed that the object with the authors of these sermons is not chiefly to lop off dead branches from the living tree of Christianity, nor to free our faith from corruptions which may have accumulated around it. The one sole distinctive point of *any* importance in their opinions, the one which characterizes their

position, is the fact that they reject all claims which Christianity makes to a supernatural origin or authority. Christ claimed to be a teacher specially sent from God. This claim they deny. He professed to work miracles. They repudiate all such pretensions. If they call him inspired, it is only in the same sense in which every man is inspired. They may attribute to him great excellence of character, but they consider the record from which alone we have knowledge of his character as full of fables. They think his moral system admirable, but it is solely because it agrees with their own judgment of what is right. Mr. Parker freely and heartily admits that Christ taught many great truths of religion, though he believes that he fell into serious mistakes on important points. The respect, however, expressed for Christ's teachings is founded, not on any peculiar authority attributed to the Saviour, but on the fact that his teachings are found by Mr. Parker to accord with his own opinions. Respecting the great principles of religion, it is assumed that Christ had no means of knowledge which we do not possess. In short, these views are essentially the same with those which have been put forth again and again by successive Deistical writers, and which, after attracting attention for a time, have at length sunk out of notice. They are the same in substance with those of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the English Deists. The best known writer of this class which English literature has produced is Thomas Paine. He was a coarse and vulgar, but a vigorous and powerful man; and since Rousseau and Voltaire, beyond comparison the ablest writer among the popular assailants of Christianity. There is nothing of any moment in Newman, or Gregg, or Parker, which is not found stated with more vigor and brevity in Paine. They are men of more taste and culture, and are more practised rhetoricians. They may differ from him in certain philosophical sentimentalisms, and differ from him still more in a strange affectation of respect for a religion, to undermine whose authority they are devoting their most serious labors. But come to the great principles which they all hold, they equally reject the authority of Christ; they consider the idea of a miracle absurd; they all teach that the only sources from which religious truth is to be derived are nature and the human soul; and they all place much the same estimate on the worth of the Christian system and on the character of Christ. To show how little modification, even, the common notions of infidelity have received at their hands, we quote from the Age of Reason the declarations of Paine respecting these same points: —

"I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-creatures happy.

"..... Nothing that is here said can apply, even with the most distant disrespect, to the *real* character of Jesus Christ. He was a virtuous and an amiable man. The morality that he preached and practised was of the most benevolent kind.

"The only religion that has not been invented, and that has in it every evidence of divine originality, is pure and simple Deism. Deism teaches us, without the possibility of being deceived, all that is necessary or proper to be known. The Creation is the Bible of the Deist. There is no occasion for such a thing as revealed religion.

"In every point of view in which those things called miracles can be placed and considered, the reality of them is improbable, and their existence unnecessary. . . . . .

"Though I thus admit the possibility of Revelation, I totally disbelieve that the Almighty ever did communicate any thing to man otherwise than by the universal display of himself in the works of the creation, and by that repugnance we feel in ourselves to bad actions, and disposition to do good ones."

We deeply regret that the views set forth in the discourses at the head of this notice should have any currency among us. But being entertained, we are glad that they should be published and be known for what they are. We have been in the habit of hearing much of German theology. The most remarkable characteristic of the Rationalistic class of German theologians has not, in this country, been appreciated. These men have for the most part belonged to the Lutheran Church, and have received their support as persons dedicated to the teaching of Christianity, according to the views set forth in the orthodox formularies of Germany. Not a few of these men have spent their lives in writing out systems of theology, based upon creeds which they did not believe; in interpreting the Scriptures, whose authority they neglected; and in preaching Christ, while they regarded the Gospels as mere myths or fables. There never was a more dishonest or unmanly position. It required all the haziness of the German mind, and the debasing influence of German institutions, to reconcile them to a position which deserved the scorn and contempt of mankind. These have been the men who have been held up so much as among the gods of modern theology.

It seemed for a time that we were to have this infidelity under false pretences introduced into England and this country. There appeared to be a tendency among several popular authors who rejected the Christian religion, in the very act of rejecting it, to practise the affectation of being its special protectors and defenders. They merely wished to strip off the mummy-cloths in which it had been swathed and buried, — to free it from the encumbrances of folly and fraud which had collected around it, — and thus give its light an opportunity to shine forth to the world. By using words in double senses, by skilful rhetoric and

false issues, they confused and bewildered their own minds, and thus, unhappily both for themselves and the public, did much to prevent the true question in debate from being distinctly seen. Whoever spoke of them as rejecting Christianity, was regarded as a narrow-minded bigot and persecutor. We are glad this system of procedure is apparently at an end.

We do not mean to suggest that the opinions held by such persons were not honestly entertained. We measure no man's moral integrity by the character of his intellectual conclusions. The most erroneous opinions may be held as honestly as those which are most sound and true. Nay, more. We do not mean that the false position in which such persons stood was occupied with any conscious disingenuousness of purpose. They had come to it gradually. They were probably drawn into it in part by a disposition to imitate those German theologians whose learning was justly admired, but whose moral position was imperfectly appreciated. Then, regarding their views as true, it was easy for them to persuade themselves that they might legitimately use the places which they occupied for disseminating them, although the places had been given to them for the inculcation of quite opposite doctrines. But all this did not prevent their position being a false one. They were in the wrong, however, not in thinking for themselves, nor in proclaiming their opinions, but in the fact that their position as Christian ministers was understood by the public to be a perpetual profession of faith in a religion, whose authority they really denied.

While preparing this notice, we have met with some remarks of Rev. J. J. Taylor, — one of the most respected and best known among the English Unitarians, — in an ordination sermon recently delivered by him. By those acquainted with his writings, he will be suspected of any thing rather than bigotry or intolerance. We quote his words, because they show how this matter is viewed by one who has had special opportunities for forming correct conclusions respecting it, and whose mind and character give weight to his opinions.

"There are certain obvious limitations to the latitude of our opinions and to the indulgence of our spiritual sympathies, which reason and consistency in our actual position require us to observe. Churches calling themselves Christian should clearly rest on a Christian basis, — should be Christian in their belief, their spirit, and their practice. To take a name which does not represent our convictions, to profess Christianity and yet hold opinions which deny its claim to any peculiar authority over our hearts and lives, — is a course so disingenuous and hypocritical, that, if we can suppose any societies weak and wicked enough to adopt it, we may confidently predict their speedy dissolution, whatever ability they have engaged in their service, from the want of moral principle which makes them rotten at the core."

The disingenousness consists in a profession of Christianity while holding opinions which deny its claim to any peculiar authority. He does not doubt that such opinions may be honestly held. He would lay no restriction on the free utterance of them under proper circumstances, but he would have those who entertain them bring them forward under their true names.

"Let those," he says, "who cannot see and do not feel the great truth there is in Christianity, or who believe that other modes of culture are better adapted to the present condition of the human mind, have full and free allowance for the expression of their own views, and organize, if they choose, their own associations for the promotion of them, within the needful limits of respect for the laws of society and the requirements of immutable morality. Deeply as we think them in error, we wish them well. They are our brethren by the indestructible affinities of God's spiritual universe; and we desire they should enjoy undisturbed the mental liberty which we claim for ourselves. If they will only be consistently honest, and work out their principles on every side to their legitimate results, we have no doubt that they, like all true and genuine natures, will ultimately serve the cause of truth. We have faith in truth; and to the God of truth we leave, without fear, the great issue."

For ourselves we have long considered the only serious question of theology now presented for debate, to be the question, whether we have or have not in Christianity a religion possessing a divine authority. Have we a religion revealed from Heaven, to which man must look up as an authoritative guide, or have we no religious truth except what we may derive from nature and the human mind? The questions between different sects are but questions respecting the interpretation of the record. All these various sects unite in believing that they have a religion to interpret, and one whose voice is of authority. They stand on one side of a gulf, on the other side of which stand those, of whatever name, who reject Christianity as possessing any peculiar authority.

But though this is the great question, it is not because scepticism has in it any thing of novelty. From the nature of the case, we could not expect it. In rejecting Christianity, mankind is simply remanded back, so far as the means of discovering religious truth are concerned, to the position occupied before the coming of Christ, and which is now occupied in every country to which his teachings have not come. The difference in religious faith between Christendom and those parts of the world outside the pale of Christendom, has been occasioned solely by the belief that Christ was invested with a divine authority as a teacher of religion. Rationalism does not pretend to open any new source of truth. In rejecting Christianity, it simply falls back on such light as nature affords to all men. When scepticism under-

takes to put forth a positive system, it may assume every form from Atheism to Rationalism, every form of philosophical opinion or heathen superstition, but in its denials of Christianity it is always substantially the same.

The only novelty in these views, as they have appeared among us, consists in the circumstance, that in this land of the Pilgrims they should ever have been proclaimed by Christian ministers, from the Christian pulpit, and under the shadow of Christian institutions. Every man who rejects the divine authority of Christianity knows very well that he would never have been sought to occupy a Christian pulpit, if his views had been distinctly stated. A Protestant church would not choose a Catholic priest for their minister, and still less would they choose one who rejected the authority of the religion which they wished to have taught to their children. A Christian congregation would no more select such a man for a Christian minister, than a mariner, on approaching the coast, would take a wrecker for a pilot. In finding such views presented in sermons, there is something novel; but it is a matter which will rectify itself when it is understood.

At a time when there are individuals who are devoting themselves to the work of destroying faith in the Christian religion as possessing any peculiar authority, it is important that reflecting persons should know on which side they stand. It is not because we have any fears about the fate of the Christian religion. Christianity is dependent on none of us for existence. It has lived and spread for eighteen centuries, and is more vigorous now than ever before. It is not Christianity which needs us, but we who need Christianity. But while scepticism assails the Christian faith in vain, it may in any given community do infinite mischief to the individuals who adopt it, and find in its uncertainties license and swing for self-indulgence. Even in this case we would lay no hindrance on the fullest and freest expression of opinion. Let every man think and speak for himself. We assume no other man's responsibilities. But we think it a matter of great moment, if there be those who teach infidelity, that it should be known to be what it is. It is a matter of simply common honesty not to introduce it under the cover of those sacred names which constitute a part of the universally recognized language of faith. Especially, if in the Christian ministry there are those so unfortunate as to be led in their speculations to disbelieve the authority of that religion which they were ordained to teach, it becomes them to let it be known. We do not mean that one should think it necessary to make proclamation of every uninvestigated difficulty or uncertainty. Let one whose mind is disturbed by sceptical questions pause

and consider and weigh and meditate long. Let him come to no hasty conclusions. Let a conclusion, which must be probably for life, be most serious and deliberate. In most cases, such deliberate examination, we believe, leads to faith. But when it leads to settled doubt, and when one has come to a fixed conviction, we think that, if he be a public teacher of religion, they who are under his influence should know it from himself, in the most explicit terms. This is what honesty and good faith require, and it is a course which deserves the respect which we give to honesty and good faith. We respect the man who takes the course of uprightness. We sympathize with him in the struggles, anxieties, and sacrifices which it may involve. We deeply regret that any one should lose his faith, and, above all, that one who has been a teacher of Christianity should array himself against its authority. But we see no other course for such a one than to have it plainly understood on which side he stands. It is for this reason that we think it a matter of importance that these sermons should have been published. We utter no words of fault-finding in regard to their authors, but, on the contrary, commend their frankness. We do not criticize the merits of their opinions, though we certainly regret that the ability, which we heartily concede to them, is not employed on another side. But there can be no question, that, holding such views, they were bound to state them in some unmistakable *form*, while the community, so far as it is under their influence, is profoundly interested in knowing their actual position.

This subject, however, is important not to theologians alone, but equally so to every member of the community. One's views in regard to the authority of Christianity must affect deeply his own notions of duty, and the strength of motive by which the practice of duty is enforced. It must affect his views of Providence, of man, and of society. Above all, its influence will be seen and felt in the education of children. If it were one of those subjects which could remain a mere matter of speculation, it might be of little consequence what one believed, or whether he had any definite belief at all. But no subject is so *entirely* practical. It has relations to every duty of life, and must go far towards determining all our expectations of the future. The mother cannot sit down to teach her child, but she must practically take one side or the other. If, when she reads the New Testament, the child asks what authority Christ had for declaring this, or commanding that, she is obliged to say, either that he had no authority, or that he spake with authority from God. She is obliged to proceed on the assumption, that we have nothing to guide us superior to our own feelings and reasonings, or that in Christ we have one who was sent to be our guide in this mortal pilgrimage. There is no middle ground.

If a man believes that the claim of Christianity to a supernatural origin is founded in folly or fraud, and that the results of this belief are pernicious to society, then he must look on those who are laboring to undermine faith in its authority, as the reformers and benefactors of Christendom. On the contrary, if he thinks that we owe to Christianity our best ideas of God, our best notions of duty, and the holiest motives for its performance, he cannot fail to regard their labors in a very different light. We would not have any one pretend to believe what he does not; far from it; first of all a man must be faithful to his own convictions. But on a subject of such moment, one ought to have settled convictions. When such a question is in debate, a thinking man, who wishes well to society, ought to know on which side he stands. Let him take the ground which seems right to him, but let there be no doubt on which side he takes his stand. Do you think it would be profitable to the poor, the lonely, the sick, and the afflicted, to lose their faith in a religion which is almost the sole source of comfort and support to them in their troubles? Do you think it would be well for the rich and prosperous and powerful to lose faith in that religion which rebukes their worldliness and selfishness, and which warns them in their luxuries, and in their pride of place or power, that, if they have no fear of man, they have still to answer for their misdoings before the righteous tribunal of heaven? Do you think that the young men who are sent from so many homes in the country into the new and multiplied temptations of city life, are likely to be gainers in neglecting the religion which they had been taught from parental lips, and in coming to the belief, that, though Christ may have been a wise and good man, he knew no more about God and duty and eternity than any one of us may know? Were you to discover that a teacher, to whom you had sent your son or your daughter, was inculcating these lessons of scepticism, teaching them to look with contempt on the idea that Christianity possesses any peculiar authority, would you think it an influence under which it would be advisable for your child to remain? The point that we urge is this, that on a subject of such moment, which at once blends itself with the great practical interests of life, a man ought to know on which side he stands. And if he believes that Christ possessed that authority which the Gospels ascribe to him for his own sake, his children's sake, and for the sake of the community, he is bound to do what he can to strengthen the institutions of Christianity, and through his words, and, above all, through the fidelity of a Christian character, to diffuse among others the good influences of a religion whose authority he reveres.

The Friends of Christ in the New Testament. Thirteen Discourses by NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D. D., Pastor of the Essex Street Church, Boston. Second Edition. Boston: T. R. Marvin and S. K. Whipple & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 295.

THE author of this beautiful volume was certainly favored beyond most divines who have published selections from their sermons, in the happy suggestion to his mind of so sweet and appropriate a title. So far as we know, the title, "The Friends of Christ," is original, in this use of it. It instantly commends itself as wholly free from affectation, and as giving promise to the heart that something in accordance with so tender a title would be made to present itself in the New Testament, with a significance before unperceived. Nor is that promise disappointed by the volume. From some positive statements, and from many implications of doctrine and sentiment, we withhold our assent, and our sympathy refuses to attach to them. But while our pleasure in perusing the volume is on this score qualified, we feel that we have received from it edification and instruction of the most precious kind. Over not a few passages the glow of the deepest Christian feeling is felt to be quickened, and, terms of speech which we should not ourselves have used being translated by us into more congenial phraseology, we yield to the conviction that we are communing with one who has a rich and tender Christian experience, one who has entered into the depths of his fond theme.

The sacred charm which the volume carries with it, by its title, is in suggesting to the mind that Christ, while on the earth, had friends, — that he was not friendless. A sympathizing spirit, guided by a delicate skill in discerning motives and a kindly interpretation of some seeming trifles as tokens of a deep sentiment, will find throughout the Gospels many intimations which admit of being turned to the profitable use for which Dr. Adams has employed them. The very enumeration of the themes by which he illustrates his general subject will open to the heart of every devout reader, who is familiar with the Gospels, a train of reflections in unison with the title, "The Friends of Christ."

The author says: "The object of these discourses is, to present the Saviour as an object of faith, and love, and worship; to excite those feelings which sinners should have to their Saviour, and if any are ashamed of Christ, to show them in what ways some of our fellow-men, from every rank and in every condition, have expressed their love and worship; and to make it appear that all things are but loss, compared with the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord." (p. 24). And again, in another sermon, he says: "The object of these discourses, as al-

ready stated, is to illustrate the faith and love of which Christ has been the object, and thereby to encourage and quicken our faith and love, and, if need be, to remove the coldness of our affections." (p. 42.) We should, on the whole, prefer the second statement of his object to the former one, though we have nothing to criticize as objectionable in the former except the use of that word *worship*. Christ is nowhere presented in the Gospels as an object of worship. Even in these discourses we find but one suggestion which distinctly proposes any argument for the payment of divine honor to Christ, founded on the use of the word "worship." In the discourse on "The Wise Men from the East," Dr. Adams advances an argument of this kind. But to say nothing of the monstrous improbability of the supposition, that the wise men could have imagined that they were offering homage to the Almighty in a human form, the use of the word "worship" in the New Testament will not admit of its being applied always to religious homage. In the parable of the hard creditor, the debtor "fell down and worshipped" his lord. The discourses are indeed pervaded by the evidence of an intense and an all-absorbing conviction in the mind of their author that Christ is God. The whole Christian culture, the entire system of doctrinal opinions, the very life and substance of the faith of Dr. Adams, seem to be identified with this conviction. In support of it he will incorporate into every page of his discourses sentences, parts of sentences, and phrases taken at random from the Old Testament, and apply them as prophecies to Christ, in a way which to our minds is incompatible with any just and intelligent principles of interpretation. We cannot but express, over and over again, our amazement, that any Christian scholars should insist upon representing as the foremost and vital doctrine of the Christian faith, the dogma that Christ is God, which is not plainly and distinctly asserted in one single text; which must be sustained only by inferential deductions from obscure phrases that admit of easier interpretations; which introduces the darkest confusion into the whole theory of the Gospel scheme; and which is utterly inconsistent with hundreds of the most explicit and literal statements of the Scriptures. It would seem, for instance, as if the following passage from St. Paul, so plain, distinct, and positive in its assertion, would confound those who assert that Christ is the Supreme God: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father. . . . . For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." (1 Cor. xv.

24–28.) In the name of all that is honest and serious in the speech and in the heart of man, we ask, what do these words mean? And we must answer, that Christ and God are two distinct beings, or else the Apostle has labored to mislead us.

Our author says: "Christ is a touchstone to every one of us. What think ye of Christ? is a question whose answer decides the truth or error of our belief. If he be to you only a creature, however exalted, superangelic, but still a creature, your views of the character of God, and of your own character, and of the way to be saved, and of future retribution, must be wrong. If Christ is God, and you worship him, and he made atonement for your sins, this affects the whole character of your belief." (p. 53.) It will be observed that this passage involves that daring venture of Calvinism, — than which we know of nothing more rash in the wildest speculations of Rationalism, — by which it presumes to dictate to God, that by no agency which he can devise shall he have the liberty of redeeming and blessing the human race, short of coming into the world and dying for it. How does Dr. Adams know that God could not make the mission of a superangelic being effectual for the salvation of the world? We know that Calvinists make and reiterate this assertion as if it were an axiom of the universe, or at least as if they had had a special revelation to assure them of it. But we do not hesitate to say, that there is real impiety in presuming thus to dictate to God on what terms or by what agency he shall reconcile men to him. The above assertion by Dr. Adams may not seem to him to involve presumption, but to us it appears to border on impiety. By what right does he thus dictate terms to God?

But there is another question which we would put to our author. Does he suppose, can he suppose for one moment, that either of those men or women whose faith and love he delineates as offering various tributes to the Saviour, imagined that he was the Supreme God? Did Simeon suppose that the child whom he took in his arms was God? Did the woman with the alabaster box suppose that she was anointing God? Did the penitent thief look at the sufferer by his side as God? Did Joseph of Arimathea regard the corpse which he committed to the sepulchre as the corpse of God? And when Jesus, having risen from that sepulchre, said to Mary, "I am not yet ascended to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God," — could Mary have possibly entertained any other idea than that Christ and God were two distinct persons? Does it not introduce the darkest and the most bewildering confusion into all our attempts to form some clear idea of the Gospel scheme, if we thus admit that those who were entertaining the Saviour, and loving him, and listening to him, were actually in personal intercourse with the

God of their fathers embodied in a human form? We are aware that Dr. Adams is one of the most earnest and consistent opponents of Unitarian views, regarding them as fatal to the souls of those who hold them. But we think he must in candor allow that those views are not entirely destitute of Scripture warrant.

Most of the subjects of the thirteen discourses contained in the volume before us, are very beautifully presented together in the following paragraph from the last in the course.

"The wise men have travelled in our sight from the distant East, to worship Christ. Aged Simeon has held him forth to us in his arms. John the Baptist, than whom there is no greater among men, has rejoiced to perceive the light of his glory become pale before his Emmanuel and ours. The wedded pair at Cana have spoken to the young, that they remember Christ in the season of their espousals. The twelve Apostles of the Lamb present their names to us in the foundations of the New Jerusalem, as witnesses for Jesus. The children in the temple have called upon children everywhere to sing hosannas to the Son of David. Martha has turned at his rebuke, from being careful and troubled about many things, and has joined her sister at Jesus's feet, in choosing the good part which shall never be taken away from her. Simon the Cyrenian, that African, staggering under the ignominious cross which he bore for his Saviour, has said to you, 'Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.' The penitent thief has reproved the unbelief of every, even the greatest sinner, and has gone with Christ from the cross to a more than earthly paradise. Joseph of Arimathea, once a secret disciple of Christ, and Nicodemus, who also came to Jesus by night, have instructed those who are intellectual and cautious, how to be bold, and to confess Christ before men. Once more, that love to Christ which is stronger than death, is represented to us in those women sitting over against his sepulchre, and manifesting an ardor of love which many waters could not quench, nor floods drown." — pp. 293, 294.

From this summary are omitted the discourse on "The Woman with the Alabaster Box," which we regard as the richest in the volume, and that on "The Relenting Crucifier."

All that is touching and impressive and true in the tracings of a personal interest in Christ through these themes, owes its power to that Scripture view of him which regards him as one "whom the Father had sanctified and sent into the world." But on the author's metaphysical view of Christ, the scenes and characters and incidents which he delineates would be inexplicable.

We cannot forbear a few words of comment on some passages in this volume which have fixed our attention in a careful perusal of it. In reference to the choice of the twelve Apostles by the Saviour, Dr. Adams says: "The great importance of this selection, perhaps, kept the Saviour awake all night, and, in communion with God, he sought and obtained direction. Here is an instance in which his human nature is seen to retain all its dependence, its need of prayer and of Divine guidance; the pres-

ence in his person of the Divine Word never confounding the distinction between the human and the Divine, but leaving him still the man Christ Jesus." (p. 107.) Can the author possibly connect any clear idea with his own assertion? Why not accept the plain inference from the fact, viz. that the Christ who was praying is the Mediator, sent into the world by God, and that the Being to whom he prayed was, not another part of his own individuality, but the God, the one Supreme God, to whom he taught us to pray?

Concerning Herodias Dr. Adams says: "No doubt she was a most accomplished person, danced well, and moved in the best society, so called; for she lived at court. But the noise of the viol and the tabret has long ago ceased with her, and perhaps, a frantic spirit in hell, she spends eternity with that charger before her eyes always, and that head, the price of her dance, haunting her from one deep to another deep in the bottomless pit. O mother, mother! she cries, you taught me every worldly accomplishment, and also, by your example, to forget God, and brought innocent blood on my soul." (p. 75.) Certainly this is a fearful doom to visit upon a young and thoughtless girl, who, in obedience to a mother's command, hastened the execution of a prisoner, of whose sacred character she appears to have had *no* knowledge. The mother would have been the more proper object of a proper punishment. But Dr. Adams might have yielded to the kindly suggestion, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, Herodias, having lived to repent and to become a good Christian, may now be rejoicing in heavenly bliss.

Dr. Adams says: "It is probable that Christ has saved the souls of more young children than of grown persons." (p. 142.) "As there are very many children in heaven, so there is reason to believe there are many young persons in hell. Those forty and two children who mocked Elisha, it is to be feared, are there, and others like them have perished in their sins." (p. 149.) We venture respectfully to suggest that Dr. Adams has no positive knowledge on these matters, and if he has not, would it not be better to abstain from such positive expressions concerning them? We have an opinion, too, on this point, founded upon the whole tenor and spirit of the Gospel, and it would lead us to believe, that God saves *all* children, and that Christ is the medium of salvation to some grown persons; all other grown persons, those who never heard of Christ included, being left to the just dealing of God. But such assertions as those of Dr. Adams we regard as eminently objectionable, as they drive many persons by disgust into that bold denial of all retribution after death, which deprives religion of all power over a hardened sinner.

Our author, very justly, as we think, vindicates the character of

Mary Magdalene from the popular opprobrium that has been connected with her name, as having been a woman of loose character; but, if we may be allowed to make such a use of a homely proverb, he seems to take her out of the frying-pan only to throw her into the fire: for he suggests that "Mary's good standing and influence in society would perhaps have been as likely as any thing to attract the notice and excite the malignity of the Devil and his angels." (p. 276.)

We have noticed many admirable sentences in this volume, expressing some noble truths in chaste and eloquent language, and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting some of them. "Heaven and hope do more in preaching than hell and despair. Our object must be to persuade men when we use the terrors of the Lord; the law, with its requirements and penalty, must point to Christ; otherwise we awaken only wrath, or sullen recklessness, or despair. Our ministry, with all its alarms and threatenings, must be a ministry of reconciliation, and the definition of our great object must be this: 'But we preach Christ crucified.'" (p. 163.) Again, take the following beautiful sentences: "All who have had the care of children, or have been called to use moral influences with their fellow-men, know that law and its sanctions are instruments inferior to love and mercy; that it is easier to melt than to break, to draw than to drive, and that persuasion triumphs where correction and admonition have utterly failed. God regards this principle in his creatures, a principle established by his own creative wisdom; and, accordingly, the Gospel, rather than the Law, is the perfection of his progressive administration in a world of sin and a world of hope." (p. 166.)

The following sentences are eminently evangelical: "Many are the instances in which conversion seems to be the immediate consequence of love and gratitude, and no anguish is felt, at the time, in view of sin. A need of Christ, as a Saviour, of course exists; but the overwhelming emotion is approbation of God's character and dealings, complacency in some particular attribute, gratitude to Christ for what he has done, an assurance of safety in looking at the cross of Christ, a conviction of the infinite willingness of God to save sinners. There is nothing more absurd than to suppose that there is one process through which every mind must go, in obtaining peace with God. Some have fallen asleep upon their pillows with strong crying and tears, and have waked from sleep in the morning, feeling that all creation was praising God, and with a heart to praise him too. Submission to God, in Christ, had taken place in that weeping, and, as a consequence, joy came in the morning with the return of consciousness, after the composure of sleep. We cannot say that

this, or that, or another order of thought and feeling is the way to find peace with God." (pp. 171, 172.)

There is a volume of philosophy of the truest and the loftiest character in the following sentences: —

"Religion is the highest joy, or the greatest affliction, according to the state of our feelings toward God and spiritual things." (p. 211.)

"In religion, the great difficulty with all who are not deficient in knowledge, and yet do not believe, is, they have no heart for it. That which we dislike, it is comparatively easy to disprove, or, at least, to heap up objections to it." (p. 221.)

The earnest and devoted zeal of the Christian minister to commend the character and offices of the Saviour to the love and faith of human hearts, is apparent in the whole volume. Few writers of the author's school in theology give proof of so intense a conviction of the Scriptural character of the tenets which it professes to hold, as he manifests, nor does he betray, as many of them do, any desire to soften their asperity.

The Ministry of Taunton, with incidental Notices of other Professions. By SAMUEL HOPKINS EMERY, Pastor of one of its Churches. *With an Introductory Notice, by* HON. FRANCIS BAYLIES. In two volumes. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 394, 360.

THE compiler of these quaint and peculiar volumes is evidently a man of true antiquarian taste and enthusiasm. From the most scanty historic materials he has produced two solid volumes, which do credit certainly to his industry and his patience. He has taken care that nothing shall be lost, has rejected no fragment as worthless, and has reaped the whole field, tares, wheat, and all. Every scrap of manuscript, every note, however trivial or illegible, written by the hand of an ancient minister, is to him very precious. And yet we are pleased to discover that the theological temper of the fathers whom he so much loves, is not marked in his own spirit or style. There is nothing sectarian in the author's text, and only here and there an expression from which we might infer his Calvinistic views. Occasional remarks, indeed, show a want of acquaintance with the best modern systems of Biblical criticism, as where he speaks of "the impressive symbols and delightful imagery of the inimitable book" of Canticles, and "the idea of the Holy Ghost" therein. But in the main, he has left the "fathers" to speak for themselves, and has indorsed neither their scholarship nor their sentiments. He has given their sermons and letters

from the text of the originals, retaining the ancient orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation, making them thus less attractive to the reader, but more curious as specimens of a nearly extinct species of discourse.

The basis of the work is an ecclesiastical history of all the territory originally included in the precincts of Taunton, embracing what are now the seven towns of Taunton, Norton, Dighton, Easton, Raynham, Berkley, and Mansfield, — a comprehensive plan certainly. But appended to each chapter, and incorporated also in the text, are masses of genealogical and statistical facts relating to the civil and social history of the villages. In the principal town, Taunton, no records of value prior to 1780 remain to give any aid in the narrative. Only such facts as could be picked up from letters, and allusions in printed volumes, and files of old papers, and gravestones, were available for the sketches of the early ministers of the town. These sources were diligently investigated, and enough was found about each of the eleven worthies who occupied the Taunton pulpit from 1638 to 1821, including pedigrees and names of posterity, to make for each a goodly chapter, with copious notes. The help of tradition, a most uncertain guide, is occasionally invoked, and in the absence of all account of the services at the ordination of Rev. Samuel Danforth, in 1687, a hypothetical programme is furnished, in which the several parts are assigned to brethren who *may* have given them. It is naively remarked, that "if the father of the candidate, the minister of Roxbury, *had been living*, we could easily decide who preached the sermon." To Cotton Mather, however, is assigned a part which that obstinate stickler for Congregational usage would hardly have performed. The "Address to the Society" is a quite recent innovation upon the old Puritan custom of ordinations; so that Cotton Mather, *though living*, could not have performed that part.

Troubled in the beginning by lack of material, the compiler seems to have suffered in the end from the embarrassment of his riches. To many of the chapters most redundant notes are added, containing all sorts of information about all sorts of persons and things, — epitaphs, poems, family tables, anecdotes, etc. These undoubtedly will add to the interest of the work for those who live in the old town of Taunton. But they mar its symmetry as an ecclesiastical history, and seriously break the unity of its purpose. We cannot think, either, that it was desirable to append to the ministry of an old divine, deceased a century and a quarter ago, notices of the legal and medical professions, which come principally within the last fifty years. The arrangement of the history gives to it a confused and heterogeneous look, which does injustice to its real order and progress.

Judging from the specimens of sermons, the Taunton pulpit must have had in its earlier days a fair share of ability. The sermons of William Hooke, the first minister, justify his reputation as a fine scholar and a sturdy Puritan. They are vigorous, bold, and full of true religious fervor. The Election Sermon of Mr. Danforth proves that he had not forgotten the prerogative of the ministry in addressing the civil rulers. Mr. Clap's Discourse in its accuracy of division, and its numerous heads, is characteristic of the preaching of his time, and makes up in length what it wants of force and point. The long letter of Mr. Crocker about "the work of grace," of which in his youth he was the instrument, compared with the long vindication of himself which, a few years later, he found it necessary to make, gives an instructive commentary on the disastrous tendency of revival follies and vagaries, and the failure of Calvinism to produce the fruits of a genuine and healthy religious peace. The few striking extracts given from Mr. Barnum's sermons make us regret that more of his plain, earnest, and terribly practical addresses had not been substituted for the tedious eccentricity of his successor, Rev. Ephraim Judson. We are left to judge of this hard old divine and the strange being who succeeded him, Rev. John Foster, principally by a collection of not very dignified anecdotes.

We observe that Mr. Emery skilfully avoids committing himself on that vexed question of church right, where sectarian bigotry is so apt to take issue with common sense and the law. He uses merely the mild term of *division* to characterize those secessions by which a few communicants in several of the towns separated themselves from a majority of the society. The schism of the church in Taunton seems to have been one of those cases where extreme orthodoxy not only rigidly excluded the more intelligent and liberal part of the congregation, leaving the church to dwindle because none could or would join it, but claimed also the right to dictate to the people concerning the ordinances of religion and the settlement of the minister. The controversy in Easton is quite recent, and Rev. Dr. Sheldon certainly dwells among "his own people." But we doubt the title which it pleases Mr. Emery to apply to the church and society which still continue to worship where the predecessors of Dr. Sheldon preached. The correct statement is that which is given of the division of the church in Mansfield.

Several sketches are furnished for the work by other hands. There is a most graceful and discriminating notice of Rev. Pitt Clarke of Norton, and an elaborate eulogy of Rev. Dr. Perez Fobes by the Rev. Messrs. Doggett, his son-in-law and grandson. Various lithographs, of the living and the dead, are in-

serted at intervals in the volumes, and fac-similes of many autographs are appended. A double index, of subjects and names, makes the work very convenient for reference. The old practice of publishing subscribers' names is here revived; with a doubtful taste, as we think, remembering what various motives lead men to put their names on subscription-papers which travelling agents press upon them. And the patronizing letters from distinguished men with which the work ends would have more value, if they had been written *after*, instead of *before*, its publication.

But with all the abatements to our praise in the taste and style of this history, we can commend it as the result of faithful, industrious, and earnest antiquarian zeal, and, on the whole, as a curious and interesting compilation. It undoubtedly rescues from destruction, materials which may hereafter be found very valuable.

Hebrew Lyrical History; or Select Psalms, arranged in the Order of the Events to which they relate. With Introductions and Notes, by Thomas Bulfinch. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1853. 16mo. pp. xx., 242.

Nothing could be more modest than the pretensions made in behalf of this little book by its author, or, as he chooses to term himself, its compiler. It is evidently a labor of taste and love, and in no sense or degree of scholarly ambition. But for all this it is only the better and more welcome. This department of Biblical learning has not failed of thorough and sagacious translators and commentators; but their labors have often lacked adaptation to the general mind, while their results have been sometimes vitiated by preconceived theories or defective judgment. Mr. Bulfinch has, with a wise eclecticism, availed himself of the best renderings and the most satisfactory notes that he could bring together from a liberal range of English and American critics.

The interval between the reputed and not improbable date of the earliest and the latest composition in the Book of Psalms cannot be less than a thousand years, the *ninetieth* psalm having been always ascribed to Moses, while there are several which must have been written after the return from the Babylonish captivity. Many of them have reference to contemporary events, and all of them, like all true poetry, breathe something of the aroma of their own times and soil, — have something about them which made them appropriate then and there, rather than in any

other time, or anywhere else. It is self-evident, that an additional interest is imparted to them individually, if read in connection with the circumstances under which they were respectively written; and to the whole collection, if read in the order of their composition, and as a poetical commentary on the fortunes of their authors and of the Hebrew nation. It is in this order that Mr. Bulfinch has arranged *one hundred and four* of the Psalms, and the only fault that we can find with the work is the omission of the remaining *forty-six*, the places of which in the series are indicated in a schedule following the table of contents. To most of the Psalms Mr. Bulfinch has prefixed brief and well-written introductions, describing the occasions on which they were indited, and often giving a concise summary of their contents. The text is broken into clauses representing the metrical divisions in the original Hebrew, and is followed in each instance by well-selected critical notes. The whole work is executed with the utmost literary care and precision, and with abundant marks of a spirit of profound reverence and exalted appreciation on the part of the compiler. We cordially recommend this book as a valuable aid in the study of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and as affording a commentary on the Psalms not without its worth to the critical student, but as especially deserving the gratitude of those whose Biblical researches must be prosecuted without the aid of the original tongues.

A Pilgrimage to Palestine, with Notes and Observations on the Present Condition of the Holy Land, the Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the People, the Ruins of Ancient Cities, and the Prospects of Missionary Enterprises. With Numerous Engravings. By J. V. C. Smith, Editor of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Author of "A Pilgrimage to Egypt," and "Turkey and the Turks." Boston: David Clapp, and Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 340.

With all Dr. Smith's liveliness of spirit, shrewdness of remark, and Yankee inquisitiveness, he has put forth a book which adds nothing to the labors of Robinson, Lynch, Kitto, Wainwright, &c., except a singular mass of errors and misstatements. With amazing confidence in his own glimpses at the country through a few weeks of entire dependence upon his dragoman's honesty, with no deference at all to the learned labors of those who have given the best part of their lives to the study of Palestine, he has united such haste in execution as has betrayed him into self-contradiction, inaccuracy, and untruth. Among the doubtful statements, we class the following: that the leprosy of

ancient times is "unknown at present in Palestine" (contradicted by Dr. S. himself upon the two hundred and eightieth page), — that the horns worn by married women are "frequently alluded to in the Psalms," — that the Druses are "an incomprehensible race, devoted to an entirely unknown religion," — that "the full measure of Divine wrath" has not yet fallen on Tyre, — that "no one in his senses believes" in the grave shown as that of Lazarus, — that there is an escape for the Dead Sea water "through channels yet undiscovered," — that the "last remains of Capernaum" were found by Dr. S., which Dr. Robinson failed to discover, — that there are "no more massive ruins" in Egypt than Baalbec, — that the Jordan has "few or no tributaries," — and that our Saviour visited the city of Tyre.

Among the statements which contradict well-known facts are such as these: that there are "but a few thousand Jews in Palestine," — that "only Mohammedans exist in Bethlehem," where the population is exclusively Christian, — that Damascus contains "only one great Khan," — that there are any thing "like five thousand people" at Baalbec, — that there are less than fifty Samaritans at present, — that Dr. S. "examined the greater part of the Jordan," — that the population of Nazareth is "only about a thousand," while Kitto gives three thousand, — and that the bathing-house built by Ibrahim Pacha at Tiberias had an "unknown origin"; see Robinson's Researches, Vol. III. p. 258.

It seems to us due to the credit of American letters, that, when a book of travels from the pen of an educated man is so prominently marked by errors of every kind, even against grammar and orthography, the periodical press should set its stamp upon the work. No doubt, with the study of other writers, a longer period in the country than a couple of months, an acquaintance with some other language than English, and greater care in preparation for the press, Dr. Smith's sagacity, intelligence, and good feeling would produce a readable book even upon this hackneyed theme.

A Fortnight in Ireland. By Sir Francis B. Head. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. pp. 216.

Sir Francis has given us here a book equally interesting and valuable, — full of faithful details, interspersed with lively anecdote and spirited description. Besides the inexpressible relief of reading a book of travels where the author is going to stop as soon as his story is told, and where one is not deceived into reading a thrice-told tale, or a string of quotations from guide-books,

there is sufficient light of a most trustworthy sort upon some matters of practical moment.

Much has been said, on one side and the other, of the conversions from Romanism rewarding the energetic missionaries of the English Church in the West of Ireland. Sir Francis gives an explanation so simple that it can hardly fail to be true: the potato-rot first made the Catholic peasant of Ireland acquainted with the generous interest in his condition among the Protestant clergy; it tore the bandage away from his purposely-blinded eyes; it brought him into intimate friendship with a better kind of Churchmen; it converted him, in fact, from an ignorant jealousy to a grateful trust. The Irish Catholics themselves ascribe the desertion of so many thousands to the failure of the national food, and the supplies still furnished in connection with the missionary schools; and nickname the proselyting creed "the stir-about religion." Through the rural district near Galway, where his explorations were principally made, Sir Francis found a number of Protestant churches and school-houses newly erected, others enlarging, and others in preparation; and, from all parties, ascertained that the Romish worship was far less frequented, in some of the former seats of Catholicity, than the services of the English Church. He honestly enough allows that the meal is a convincing argument in favor of the Protestantism, and very rationally relies upon the schools to carry the process still farther, and lay an immovable foundation for a better faith in the mind of the mass.

One part of the little volume is exceedingly sad, the description of roofless houses still inhabited in spite of rain and cold by "evicted" tenants. He shows that it was necessary some great change should be made; that this process, when completed, gives a remainder of the people better support than before, saves the land-owner from ruin, recovers neglected tracts of country, and is a sure preventive of general suffering in future. But the poor Acadians' exile, which American genius has made so irresistibly touching, is no more melancholy than the work now carried on by the British police in Ireland, the destruction of villages and hamlets in order to clear the ground for the operations of large land-owners. And the most wonderful thing is, the continual testimony given by the "Constabulary" to the peaceful submission of the ejected tenantry. One head-constable, who had attended to all the evictions made by a London Life-Insurance Company over a tract of 170,000 acres, declared, that "the people committed no depredations during their distress"; in another case the answer was, that "some went to the workhouse, some to England, some to America, and some to the grave"!

The uniform testimony of the police, and Sir Francis obtained it wherever he went, was, that great crimes were nearly unknown, even drunkenness being far more rare than in Scotland. The latter pages of the narrative are occupied in a vindication of the purity of Irish women, which leaves the reader with a delightful impression as he closes the pleasantest book of the "Traveller's Library."

Essays on the Poets, and other English Writers. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 16mo. pp. 296.

THIS is the tenth volume of the excellent edition of Mr. De Quincey's miscellanies, for which we are indebted to the judicious taste of Mr. Fields, the junior publisher. It comprises nine critical essays on modern English poets and prose-writers. Of these the largest and best is the very eloquent article on Pope, from the North British Review, which forms a necessary supplement to the brilliant essay on the same writer in a former volume of this collection. It is written in Mr. De Quincey's best manner, and is, we think, upon the whole, even superior to the previous essay, though it is disfigured by a similar unjust depreciation of Addison. Indeed, from some cause or another, our author always fails of rendering entire justice to that great writer, who did so much to elevate and purify English literature. Another noticeable paper in the volume before us is a review of Forster's Life of Goldsmith, also from the North British Review, in which Mr. De Quincey, with his usual tendency to forsake the main subject for the discussion of collateral issues, devotes most of his article to an examination of the relative position of men of letters in Goldsmith's age, in the age preceding it, and in our own time. Apart from this discursiveness the essay is a very able and striking production. A review of Walter Savage Landor's writings is also a very searching and characteristic essay, though it is not one of the best specimens of Mr. De Quincey's powers. The other essays are on the Poetry of Wordsworth, on Shelley, Keats, Godwin, John Foster, and Hazlitt. But they are mostly short, and do not demand a special notice. Taken as a whole, the volume is one of the most attractive and entertaining, but also one of the least able and scholarly, in the series. It has, indeed, much of the writer's wonderful brilliancy of style, breadth of learning, and keenness of analysis; but most of the papers are too brief to exhibit these powers in their highest perfection.

Heaven and its Scriptural Emblems. By RUFUS W. CLARK. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland, Ohio: Jewett, Proctor, & Worthington. 1853. 8vo. pp. 269.

IN no respect has public taste made so sure and rapid progress as in the department of "annuals." We have longed to reclaim for the fire some of the choicest gifts of our younger days, — "*tokens*" less of friendship, than of the utter verdancy of Cisatlantic art and literature. We say "*and* literature"; for, "though there were giants in the land in those days," it was only giants' work that they knew how to do, and, when pressed into the magazine or *annual* service, they hardly rose above the *album* style and standard. The redeeming trait of those earlier gift-books was that the cover uniformly *came off* before the end of January, and they passed out of sight almost as soon as they were out of mind. But within the last half-dozen years the best endowments of the brightest minds have been largely employed in producing Christmas and New Year's offerings that may equally delight the eye and satisfy the intellect. And among annuals, we have been glad to recognize an increasing number of *perennials*, which have nothing within or about them to make them obsolete when their birth-year has expired. Such a book is the one before us. It possesses great artistical beauty, is faultless in typography and binding, and contains five engravings of superior merit, designed by Billings, and engraved by Wagstaff and Andrews. The text consists of a series of essays by Mr. Clark on the evidences of a future life, the recognition of friends in heaven, and the various images and symbols under which the blessedness of the redeemed is shadowed forth in the phraseology of the New Testament. These subjects are treated in a style redolent of the true poetry of devotion, and at the same time without mysticism, and without the intrusion of such ideas as are the property of single sects rather than of the Church collectively. The argumentative portions are admirably adapted to confirm the faith of the serious inquirer, and the chapter on the "Recognition of Friends," the longest in the book, is unsurpassed in the tender, delicate, sympathetic handling of a subject on which so many believing and devout minds are oppressed with painful misgivings. The entire book cannot fail to instruct and edify every religious reader. It is free from technicalities, bold and liberal in its tone of speculation, and pervaded by the spirit of confiding faith and fervent piety. We trust that it will guide and cheer the steps of many a pilgrim toward the blessed home from which it derives its name and theme.

On the Lessons in Proverbs: being the Substance of Lectures delivered to Young Men's Societies at Portsmouth and elsewhere. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B. D., author of "The Study of Words," &c. New York: Redfield. 1853. 16mo. pp. 140.

THERE are two reasons why an author who undertakes to write upon the subject expressed in the above title should be expected to produce an interesting and instructive book. In the first place, he has very abundant and rich materials already furnished to his hand, in the collections and essays of those who have preceded him. And in the second place, the theme is an eminently suggestive one, quickening all the more vivid faculties of the mind, and presenting the wisdom of the sage or the peasant in the most striking forms of quaintness, terseness, wit, or common sense. Without having exhibited any very signal ability in treating his subject, either in research for materials, or philosophy in generalizing upon them, or acuteness in presenting the more delicate elements which enter into the finer proverbial sayings, Mr. Trench has still produced a very delightful volume. It contains five Lectures, with an Appendix devoted to "The Metrical Latin Proverbs of the Middle Ages." The Lectures bear respectively the following titles: The Form and Generation of Proverbs; The Proverbs of Different Nations compared; The Poetry, Wit, and Wisdom of Proverbs; The Morality of Proverbs; The Theology of Proverbs.

Something of the long-proved, experimental wisdom of proverbial sayings enters into the etymology of the very words which give them their common titles. Thus the word *Proverb* is *pro verbum*, or, instead of our own word, adopting or following the word of others, the saying or advice the authority of which is well established. The meaning of the word *Maxims*, as the *greatest* rules of wisdom, is well defined in the following line:

"Regulæ quæ inter *maximas* numerari merrentur."

Adages, as the etymology imports, are "things apt for action and use," — Adagia *ad agendum apta*. Our author observes the fact that proverbs are more frequently used by the common people, than by the fastidious and the cultivated. Lord Chesterfield said, "No man of fashion ever uses a proverb." The maxim which passes from mouth to mouth, and is accepted through successive generations as having the value of a truth, is distinguished from other sentences equally true which we may all utter, as a coin with the mint-stamp upon it is distinguished from a piece of gold or silver of the same size and intrinsic worth, but without the stamp. A proverb, or "a saying which combines the wit of one with the wisdom of many," has been said to require three ingre-

dients, — "shortness, sense, and salt." Martial, in his epigram upon epigrams, most felicitously expresses his own idea, —

> "Omne epigramma sit instar apis; sit aculeus illi,
> Sint sua mella, sit et corporis exigui."

Aptly rendered by Mr. Trench, —

> "Three things must epigrams, like bees, have all, —
> A sting, and honey, and a body small."

Not wholly approving the alliterative terms given above to define the ingredients of a proverb, Mr. Trench does not venture to rival the definition with one of his own. In treating of the generation of proverbs he is inclined to allow a great age to many which might seem quite modern, and to ascribe a foreign origin even to some that appear to have a warrant of nativity in the place where they are most tersely used. Thus, the well-known saying, "*One must not look a gift-horse in the mouth*," might be supposed to be distinctly of English origin; but it is used in precisely the same terms by Jerome, in the fourth century.

As to the *morality* of Proverbs, Mr. Trench meets fairly the undeniable truth, that they are not all on the side of generosity, virtue, magnanimity, or of any form of faith in our fellow-men. Some proverbs, especially those of Italy, are of a savage hate and ferocity. Thus, "*Revenge is a morsel for God*"; "*Revenge of a hundred years old hath still its sucking teeth.*" There are some "scoundrel maxims," as an old English poet calls them; as for instance, "*Draw the snake from its hole by another man's hand.*" This is a Spanish proverb, as is also that most atrocious and dastardly saying, "*One must howl with the wolves*"; i. e. one must, for his own safety, join in the general cry against a victim. The author justly affirms that proverbs of an immoral, cynical, or selfish significance are *comparatively* rare; in the minority with all people, and immeasurably in the minority with most people. An amazing and invaluable sum of well-attested truth, of a prudential, unselfish, and holy influence, goes down with good proverbs.

We are under obligations both to the author and the publisher of this volume for some delightful occupation for a winter evening, found in its contemplative study.

Spain: her Institutions, Politics, and Public Men. A Sketch. By S. T. Wallis, Author of "Glimpses of Spain." Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1853. 16mo. pp. 399.

The approbation with which Mr. Wallis's former work was received will insure a ready welcome for these fruits of his second

visit to Spain. He proves himself to have been a wise observer of what was before his eyes, and an acute discerner of facts and causes which underlie the social and political condition of Spain. His book is free from offensive personalities, from all abuses of private information, and from all uncharitable judgments upon institutions which differ from those under which he was himself educated. In chapters just long enough to instruct without wearying, and entering sufficiently into details to give us a living idea of men and measures, without burdening us with too many particulars, the author presents the public characters, the institutions, the social, political, literary, and religious condition of Spain, as they now actually exist. He is a very lively writer, and every page is quickened by some brilliant flash of wit or humor, and by some shrewd remark which proves that the author has a knowledge of human nature and a philosophy of his own. We read the pages with a confidence that the author is dealing fairly by us, and is aiming to impart valuable information in an intelligible and agreeable way.

The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia; their Pastures, Copper Mines, and Gold Fields. By SAMUEL SIDNEY, Author of "The Australian Hand-Book," &c. With numerous Engravings. London: Ingram, Cook, & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. 427. [Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.]

THIS valuable and authentic account of the new land of gold has not been reprinted in this country, a large number of copies of the London edition having been imported for sale here at a cheaper price than that at which it could be afforded if republished. An examination of the volume will justify the judgment passed upon it by the London journals, as containing by far the best account that we have of the natural features, the history, and the present social and economical condition of Australia. The sketches of the early voyages and discoveries, dating eighty-three years ago, the harrowing and irritating details connected with the use of the colony as a penal settlement and the speculations of unprincipled land-owners, and the narratives of the government and the misgovernment of the successive representatives of the British crown, occupy the first part of the volume; the second and third parts are devoted to matters of present interest to emigrants and business-men. The book has interest to a great variety of readers, and from many points of view. It appears to have been composed in a spirit of entire honesty and candor, and with the fullest means of information. The com-

mercial prospects of the region have drawn to it many of our young people, and their friends will find in this volume much which they will be glad to know.

The Complete Works of SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. *With an Introductory Essay upon his Philosophical and Theological Opinions.* Edited by PROFESSOR SHEDD. In seven volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 485.

WE have here the first-fruits of an enterprise by which those indefatigable publishers, the Messrs. Harper, are putting our scholars and reading circles under new obligations to them. The various productions of Coleridge have been scattered into so many publications of different sizes and shapes, more or less complete, as parts of his mental labor, and so mixed up with the prefaces and essays and notes of different editors, that no one could range his works together on his shelves, or obtain them without purchasing considerable irrelevant matter with them. The elegant volume before us, which is to be followed by six more, to complete the work, is therefore a most welcome contribution to our libraries. It contains the Aids to Reflection, and the Statesman's Manual, with Dr. Marsh's Preliminary Essay to the former work, and an Introductory Essay by the present editor upon the speculative opinions of Coleridge. Though Professor Shedd shows himself to be a profound admirer of Coleridge, he expresses qualifying approbation, and some abating criticism, where the cloudy philosopher is most original in his flights. We shall need to recur to this theme, as the successive volumes give us an occasion to do so.

Napoleon in Exile: or, A Voice from St. Helena. The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon on the most important Events of his Life and Government, in his own Words. By BARRY E. O'MEARA, Esq., his late Surgeon. In two volumes. New York: William Gowans. 1853. 16mo. pp. 512, 552.

The same Work. Redfield: New York. 1853. 16mo. pp. 328, 322.

THE simultaneous publication of two new American editions of Dr. O'Meara's garrulous journal at St. Helena, may be regarded as a token that our publishers know very well what sort of

books are sure of a good market. A new generation of readers has come up since these entertaining, gossipy volumes first appeared. The fidelity of the journalist is as unquestioned as his opportunities for making a good book upon his patient were favorable. The doings of the nephew of Napoleon have excited a fresh interest in the career and fate of the uncle. There must be many to whom O'Meara's journal will be wholly new, and we assure them that, even amid the multitude of books around them, they can hardly lay their hands upon one which will afford them more entertaining information. We need not draw any distinction of merit between the two impressions of the work now before us. Either one of them will serve the reader equally well. It is but fair, however, to say, that the edition of Mr. Gowans is in larger type.

Pastoral Theology; or the Theory of the Evangelical Ministry. By A. VINET. *Translated and Edited by* THOMAS H. SKINNER, D. D, Professor of Pastoral Theology in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. *With Notes, and an additional Chapter, by the Translator.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 387.

UNQUESTIONABLY every Christian minister and candidate for the ministry will find in this volume some suggestions which will heighten his sense of responsibility, and instruct him in the better fulfilment of his high duties. The theory of the ministry on which the writer proceeds approves itself in the main to us. Of course his Calvinistic views give a character to some of his thoughts and counsels which does not answer to the truth as it appears to us. But the earnestness, the intelligence, the unction, and the manifest engagedness of heart and soul which the writer exhibits, will feed with good nutriment the spirit of every well-disposed reader. The Chapter which the Translator has added relates to the care of souls in times of special declension and special interest in religion.

English Items: or, Microscopic Views of England and Englishmen. By MATT. F. WARD, Author of "Letters from Three Continents." New York: D Appleton & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 357.

IT is but fair that our cousins across the water should occasionally receive a return in kind for those satirical and fault-finding criticisms which their travellers have so plentifully visited upon

us. If any of them should read this volume, they will find that there has recently been among them a sharp-eyed man who could detect some of their own weak points, and who knows, too, how to set them off with a sharp-pointed pen. No American can have looked much about him in England without observing many things which were fair subjects of satire, independently of that provocative which he may have felt to return like for like on the score of offensive revelations by writers of the Trollope and Fidler schools. We hope that Mr. Ward's good-humored sarcasms will be taken in good temper. The recent correspondence which has passed between "ladies" in England and the United States is commended to Mr. Trench, if he should have occasion to moralize upon the old proverb concerning "the pot calling the kettle black."

A Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners, and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations. By THOMAS DEW, late President of the College of William and Mary. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 662.

THIS volume appears to contain an extended syllabus of the heads of academic exercises in the recitation-room on the study of history. At any rate, its highest value would seem to lie in its adaptation to such a use. It embraces the results of a vast deal of reading, and brings together the principal characters and facts of ancient and modern history under a very clear method of arrangement. It could hardly serve for any thing more than an historic manual, as it necessarily offers such condensed statements that a reader's curiosity is constantly excited without being gratified. Still, for a single book, it contains so much, that it deserves to be commended to those who can purchase or read but few volumes.

Outlines of Astronomy. By SIR JOHN F. W. HERSCHEL, Bart., K. H. A New Edition. With Numerous Plates and Woodcuts. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1852. 8vo. pp. 557.

THIS is an American reprint of a work whose merits we examined and pronounced upon at some length in a review of the London edition of it. We regard Professor Olmsted's Letters on Astronomy as the simplest and most intelligible book for popular use on the science upon which it treats. This work of Herschel's, however, is more full, and but little more abstruse. Indeed, we could scarcely expect that such a science could be

made any more popular or intelligible in its great principles and facts, than the science of the heavens is made in these volumes. If this book is read consecutively, with a fixed attention, and with an occasional withdrawal of the eye from the page, that the mind may digest its materials for thought, the reader, though unskilled in abstruse exercises, will learn from it a vast deal more than he might suppose. Herschel makes a free and a judicious use of illustrations in the statement of astronomical facts, and he thus affords an unscientific reader much help.

The Lofty and the Lowly: or, Good in All and None all Good. By M. J. McIntosh. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 299, 323.

The story is interesting, and well told. The characters early take hold of the reader's sympathies, and keep hold of them to the end; at least we have found it so. The moral and spiritual tone of the book is elevated and pure. The scene is laid, partly at the North and partly at the South, and the writer intends to do justice to what is good and happy in both localities. Slavery is, of course, touched upon, and is presented in its less painful and offensive phases. "Daddy Cato" is the type of the intelligent, faithful, affectionate, contented, and happy slave; and as we suppose there are corresponding realities in slave-land, we can afford to have it presented without danger to our antislavery principles. We cannot expect to correct what is wrong in any social condition, until we have first exercised our intelligence and charity in doing justice to whatever there is of good in it.

The Miscellanies of Henry Rogers, Author of "The Eclipse of Faith." Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1853. 12mo.

This volume contains a selection of the more interesting and popular papers which are embraced in the two volumes of the London reprint of the author's contributions to the Edinburgh Review. They are some of the most instructive Essays of our day, and will meet, we believe, with a cordial reception.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A MULTITUDE of new books claim our notice, though we can do little more than name them, with a word or two to indicate their interest for various classes of readers.

The Messrs. Harper have completed the reprint of Chambers's Life and Works of Robert Burns. This work, in four neat volumes, is one of the most complete and perfect publications to be found in the whole fruitful field of letters. We have already stated the plan of the work, as embracing the letters and poems of Burns, arranged chronologically, with such illustrative and explanatory matter from the editor as makes the life of the poet the thread of his literary history. There will be no occasion for any further editorial labor upon this subject. Mr. Chambers has exhausted it by his most indefatigable and judicious toil.

The same publishers continue Agnes Strickland's Lives of the Queens of Scotland, by the first volume of the Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. This new biography of a most romantic subject has been anxiously looked for by the admirers of the authoress, because of the promised introduction of new materials upon a dark theme. The volume makes a faithful use of these materials, and is an unqualified vindication of Mary from the severest charges which have been visited upon her.

M. Guizot's brilliant essay on Shakspeare and his times, from the press of the same publishers, contains an admirable *résumé* of criticisms and comments upon the world's great poet.

The same publishers have issued the third volume of Lamartine's History of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France; a work which is sure of popularity, though the faults of the author's genius must be set against its fascinations.

A handsome volume from the same firm bears the title of the "American Missionary Memorial. Including Biographical and Historical Sketches. Edited by H. W. Pierson, A. M. With numerous Illustrations." As a condensed and comprehensive statement of the facts of American Missionary enterprise, and a grateful record of the most devoted laborers in that field, the volume is worthy of all praise. It will weary no reader. It cannot but engage the admiring regard of every Christian, and its beautiful illustrations will help the effect of its narratives.

The same publishers, consulting variety in their productions, have issued "The History of an Adopted Child. By Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury." Probably the sad and sober experiences which the book relates come much nearer to the truth of life than do most of the stories of young or old persons. The name of the authoress is a warrant for the good moral tendency of her works.

The Messrs. Appleton & Co., of New York, have issued four new works, which, though they must be classed under the title of novels, are of a higher order than are most of the works which come under that designation. They are "Lady Bird, a Tale," by Lady Georgiana Fullerton; — "The Dean's Daughter; or the Days we live in," by Mrs. Gore; — "The Experience of Life," by E. M. Jewett; — and "Light and Shade; or the Young Artist; a Tale," by Anna Harriet Drury.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields add to the treasures of our libraries several new and valuable works. Among them come three volumes of poetry. The Poems of Charles Mackay, and the Poems of Henry Alvord, are fruits of the living poetic spirit in England, while a smaller volume bears the title of "The Chapel of the Hermits, and other Poems, by John G. Whittier." There are some exquisite pieces in the volume by Alvord, which we prefer on the whole to that of Mackay, though grateful for both of them. Whittier is always welcome to us for the heartiness and earnestness of his strains. — We are anticipating the pleasure of perusing a new novel, just issued by this firm, under the simple title of "Ruth," of which it is enough to assure our expectations of delight and improvement from it, that it is written by the author of "Mary Barton."

The "Kathayan Slave, and other Papers connected with Missionary Life," by Emily Judson, is the title of another publication by the same firm, which we received too late for perusal or to permit us to pass our opinion upon it. The name of the authoress, however, will give it a sure passport, and class it among the books which need only to be announced to be sure of a wide circulation.

"The Sickness and Health of the People of Bleaburn," published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co., is a narrative which essentially records the devoted kindness of Mrs. Ware, on an occasion familiar to the readers of her recently published Memoir.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Installations. — The Rev. George W. Briggs, late of Plymouth, was installed as Pastor of the First Church in Salem, on January 6th. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. W. O. White of Keene, N. H.; Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem; Sermon, by the Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton; Installing Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Thompson of Salem; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Dexter Clapp of Salem.

The Rev. Crawford Nightingale, late of Chicopee, was installed as Pastor of the First Church in Groton, on January 26th. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Chandler of Shirley; Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. Mr. Fosdick of Groton; Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; Prayer of Installation, by the Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester; Charge, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. G. M. Bartol of Lancaster; Address to the Society, by the Rev. Mr. Babbidge of Pepperell.

Ordinations. — Mr. Francis Tiffany, a graduate of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Third Congregational Society in Springfield, on December 30th, 1852. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Charles Brooks; Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. S. S. Hunting of Brookfield; Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Burnap of Baltimore, Md.; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Boston; Charge, by the Rev. Prof. Francis of Cambridge; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Charles Lowe of New Bedford; Address to the Society, by the Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Ephraim Nute of Chicopee.

Mr. Rushton D. Burr, from the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Society at Medfield, on January 12th. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. F. Hinckley of Haverhill; Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. R. Sanger of Dover; Sermon, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Boston; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridge; Charge, by the Rev. Dr. Allen of Northborough; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Robert Hassall of Mendon; Address to the Society, by the Rev. J. M. Merrick of Walpole; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. C. C. Sewall of Medfield.

OBITUARIES.

Rev. Sylvester Judd died at Augusta, Me., on the 26th of January. He was born at Westhampton, July 23d, 1813, and spent in that town the first nine years of his life, after which his family removed to Northampton. Under the influences of the Calvinistic creed in which he was educated, his earnest and impulsive nature early received a strong religious bias. At the age of thirteen he partook in the influences of a deep religious excitement which prevailed at Northampton, and became the subject of impressions, which, through the great change which his opinions afterward underwent, determined the subsequent course of his spiritual life. At that early age, with a zeal which ever characterized him, he endeavored to win the attention of his playmates to religion, and by the fervor and unctions of his exhortations attracted the interest of persons of maturer age.

In his childhood he discovered an ardent thirst for knowledge, and was anxious to enjoy the benefits of a collegiate education, but the narrow circumstances of his family seemed to preclude the fulfilment of that desire. He was accordingly destined to a life of business, and accepted a clerkship in a store, first in Greenfield, and afterward in Hartford. But with increasing years his passion for learning grew, and his aversion to mercantile pursuits became more decided. At length the obstacles to the accomplishment of his favorite wish were removed, and he commenced his preparation for college in the summer of 1831, and entered at New Haven the following year. Here he cheerfully endured the privations and labors which his straitened circumstances made necessary, won an honorable reputation for scholarship and exemplary deportment, and graduated with high distinction in 1836.

During his college life he began to entertain doubts of the creed in which he had been educated, with which the tenderest associations of his affectionate heart and the religious experiences of his earnest spirit

were entwined. It was a long and painful conflict, some of the more prominent details of which are sketched, in a tract, written by him whilst a member of the Cambridge Theological School, and published by the Unitarian Association under the title of "A Young Man's Account of his Conversion from Calvinism. A Statement of Facts." This conflict resulted in a clear, settled, fervent Unitarian faith, which gave fresh vigor to his spiritual life, and inspired the zeal and activity of his ministry. Immediately after the completion of his theological education he preached a few Sundays in Deerfield and Augusta, and received invitations from the churches in both places. He accepted the latter, and was ordained October 1st, 1840.

Mr. Judd was a man of rare and peculiar excellence of mind and character. The raciness and discursive originality of his conversation, and his genial and hearty nature, awakened the interest and secured the attachment of those who held the shortest and most casual intercourse with him. So guileless was he, that to see was to know him, and so kind, that to know him was to love. In his speech and behavior there was the utmost simplicity and directness. The common forms of society were the least possible restraint upon him. It seldom seemed to occur to him that one time or place was more fit than another for saying any thing that he believed to be true, or doing any thing that he thought to be right. But if he were thus betrayed into occasional breaches of etiquette, they were readily pardoned for the sake of the genial love that manifestly shone through them. One little acquainted with him might sometimes think his peculiarities assumed for effect; but those who knew him best, best knew how unconscious he was, and how abhorrent to his whole nature was the least approach to affectation.

Earnestness was a prominent trait in his character. It was not an occasional effervescence of spirit, but the overflowing of a deep and full spirit. It was calm, equal, and constant, always ready for utterance and action. It proceeded from a deep insight into the solemn significance of life. He saw the defects of society as at present constituted, he longed for a greater infusion into it of a Christian spirit; he saw that a great work was waiting to be done by Christian hands, he fully felt his own responsibility concerning it, but that sense of responsibility did not oppress him. He accepted it cheerfully. He felt strong and hopeful to discharge his share of the trust. An expression of indignation at sin might occasionally be heard from him, but never a tone of fear or despondency. His was a perfectly healthy earnestness.

His love was widely comprehensive. His sympathies embraced all orders and conditions of men. He had a genuine respect for human nature in every form. He felt a sincere interest in the condition of the ignorant, the degraded, and the vicious. He loved to talk with them, and study their manners, and habits of thought and expression. His success in this study is shown in many of the descriptions contained in his works of fiction. Yet he did not possess in any high degree the tact necessary to make such intercourse complete. His humble brethren must often have misunderstood him, but they could not fail to understand that he had a large and glowing heart.

His faith, also, in human nature was strong; faith in its capability of restoration from the depths of degradation and sin; its native capability of receiving and responding to the influences of the Gospel, and of being raised by it to the sublimest heights of excellence. Of all the tenets of

the Calvinistic system, there was no one from which he so vehemently reacted, as that of total and innate depravity. In the most degraded man he saw "not less than archangel ruined," and one that stood all ready to reascend the heavenly spheres. Whilst he keenly discerned the wrongs and evils of society, and was painfully aware of the discrepancies between the moral condition of Christian communities and the standard of their professed religion, he was unwilling to acknowledge that fact as a proof of any natural proclivity in man to evil. He did not love to dwell on the contemplation of evil any longer than was necessary to consider its remedies. He turned instinctively from existing evil to possible good. In each of his three works, the contrast between actual corruption and an ideal Christian state of society is sharply drawn, and the picture of actual corruption by no means mitigated; yet amidst it all, he does not fail to exhibit the struggling elements of goodness, which give the promise and furnish the means of regeneration.

He was in one sense a practical man. He saw the direct bearing of all religious truth on life, and he asserted the duty of himself and all others to make the application as soon as possible. He would tolerate no dead matter in his creed. All the articles of his faith must be vital. He had no idea of any but a living and glowing faith. But the balance of his powers was not such as to qualify him eminently to be a practical reformer. The cast of his mind was poetical, bordering on the mystical. His idea of what was desirable was removed from the actual state of things by a greater distance than his executive power was able immediately to bridge over. Accordingly, he first sought to clothe his thought in fiction. He described what he would fain have performed. Thrice did he utter his solemn protest against prevailing evil, and invite men up to the beautiful heights of Christian excellence, by his contrasted pictures of real evil and ideal good. And not wholly in vain. His voice was heard, and will continue to be listened to, and will quicken and inspire the activity of more practical men than himself, and will do good through their agency.

His three works, "Margaret," "Philo," and "Richard Edney," can be fairly judged only when viewed as embodiments of his religious and philanthropic ideas. This was obviously the main purpose of their production, and gave them their form and pressure. To this end his minute and accurate descriptions of nature, and his varied delineations of human life and character, were incidental and subordinate. It was not his aim to produce works of high artistic finish. Had he cultivated his extraordinary graphic powers with this view, many of the faults and blemishes which his great admirers acknowledge in his writings might have been avoided; although severely discriminating taste was not mingled in the usual proportions with his creative genius. Yet these works abound with passages of faultless beauty. The demand for successive editions of them indicates the high estimation in which the public heart holds them. Amidst all the criticism they have elicited, they have won for themselves a permanent place in our national literature.

Probably, had he lived, he would have acted more directly on the condition of society. His natural tendency was in that direction. During the last year, he had been absorbed by an earnest wish to give new power and significance to the institution of the Church. He desired to awaken all to a sense of the relations in which all who are born in a

Christian land stand to the Gospel of Christ; of the benefits which all, though unconsciously, are deriving from it; and of the obligations of all within whose reach its means of grace are placed; — obligations that cannot be escaped by any man's refusal to acknowledge them. He thought that men were designed to live in church estate as much as in the civil state and in the family; and that they are born into the one as much as into the other. This idea, the original idea of the Church, as he considered it, but which has been in a great degree lost sight of in Protestant communities, and is very imperfectly represented in our present ecclesiastical institutions, he wished to see revived, brought distinctly to men's consciousness, and embodied in new church organizations. One of the last acts of his life was to take practical measures for actualizing this idea among the people of his charge.

On the first Sunday of the year he preached his last sermon, in which, after speaking of the deaths that had occurred among his flock, he alluded to the possibility of his own decease during the year. In the course of the following week he was suddenly smitten with severe disease, from which he had partially recovered, when a relapse rapidly terminated his days.

Died in Amherst, N. H., January 8th, Hon. Charles H. Atherton, aged 79. Charles Humphrey Atherton was born in Amherst, N. H., August 14th, 1773. His father was the Hon. Joshua Atherton, a prominent lawyer at the New Hampshire bar, and a member of the Convention held in 1788 for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The son was graduated at Harvard University in 1794, and, after the usual preliminary studies, he adopted the law as his profession, in which he achieved an honorable distinction. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of 1816 – 17, and at a subsequent period held office in the Legislature of his native State. Mr. Atherton remained in the discharge of his professional duties, and of various other trusts, until late in life; nor was ever any one, perhaps, more prompt to do service, and more zealous for the public good, with less incitement from motives of personal ambition.

Mr. Atherton's mind was distinguished by clear and accurate perceptions, sound judgment, a will strong in purpose without impetuosity, and a persistent patience both in deliberation and inquiry. He began early, and never laid aside, the habit of a thorough industry. So uniform was this, and so deeply set, as to wear the grace of some beautiful instinct. There was in it no bustle, no hurry. It was the genuine love of labor stirring the whole being, and keeping its energies directed in constant application to wise and useful results. He seemed as one who could not rest idle, and yet his movements were so quiet that he imposed no disagreeable constraint on those near him, although his very presence was a reproof to a listless inaction. There were several very marked and sterling qualities exhibited by our friend, which are all indicated when we say, that few men can ever have been better fitted to counsel, guide, sustain, and reinforce the minds of others. Not alone to professional clients was he thus serviceable, but to friends and neighbors and his own family, in the various emergencies that make one anxious to get light which he cannot find for himself, and long for a support in sympathy which his own strength has failed to give. Mr. Atherton was resorted to, and leaned upon, by many who had learned

how dispassionate and cool, judicious and candid, gentle and sympathetic, he was. He won, and kept through life, a perfect confidence in the hearts of those who knew him well. So delicate was his sense of honor, so pure his conscientiousness, so constant his fidelity, so void of guile was he, as that none doubted that what he had under his control would be safe, and whatever he undertook to do would be done. He had no caprices, no eccentricities, no extravagance. His reason, affections, and conscience seemed to act always in harmony for a common end. Hence his character was uniform and consistent. One always knew where to find him. Here, too, was his good influence continuous and unintermittent. Society could count him among her pillars. His opinions were deliberately formed, but were not easily disturbed when once settled in his mind. He was not hasty in his attachments, but they were never hastily abandoned. Energetic and decisive, he was of great modesty, without arrogance or self-sufficiency. He was dignified and self-possessed, not to be overcome by his own or others' emotions; yet tender and affectionate; and if of wonderful fortitude, of as remarkable a submissiveness, and feeling of his absolute dependence on God for strength and aid. He was regarded with a degree of reverence where he drew most affection to himself. His own manner was that which shows respect to others in such a way as implies an equally habitual and secure reliance on their respect in return.

If not what is called a learned man, Mr. Atherton was abundantly furnished with all necessary knowledge, and was well informed in the literature and science of his times. He read much, and not uncritically. A member of the Historical Society, he contributed to its papers. He wrote, also, occasionally, political articles for the daily press.

It is impossible to think of Mr. Atherton without including his habitual piety. There was some reference to religion in whatever he did. A religious spirit sanctified his domestic happiness, and was diffused over his social intercourse. Piety gave to his mind its habitual tone It sustained and comforted him in sorrows which admitted no other solace, and made serene and hopeful his declining years.

In religious opinions Mr. Atherton was a Unitarian. He was early made a Vice-President of the American Unitarian Association, and very liberally contributed to its funds, and for the interests of the denomination generally. He made great sacrifices for the sake of the truth in his native town, and was its unfaltering advocate till death.

Mr. Atherton was married in early manhood to Miss Marianne Toppan, daughter of the Hon. Christopher Toppan of Hampton Falls. She was a remarkably intelligent woman, whose tastes and principles were congenial with those of her husband. He survived her thirty-five years, but did not again marry. He always spoke of the companion of his early life with unabated tenderness. Two only of their children remained in life when he left the world. And of these, the daughter, endeared to her father by great devotion to his happiness for many years, his nurse, solace, and pride, has since gone to join him in his better home.

god-intoxicated, god-borne, *theos*, on fire, and kindled the hearts of men as with flames, should be made to consist in correctness of testimony, and imply a surrender of all mental action. Such has come to be regarded as the nature of plenary inspiration; it is a state in which a man is as passive an instrument as a pen or a pipe, — judgment, choice, imagination, heart, all being suspended; for if there were judgment there might be error, and if there were choice there might be mistakes, and imagination and heart would only be in the way of that mechanical faithfulness in which the value of the result of "plen-

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. CLXXVII. FOR MAY, 1853.

Writers.

ARTICLE I.	— Rev. George F. Simmons . . .	Concord, Mass.
" II.	— Rev. S. G. Bulfinch	Dorchester.
" III.	— Rev. Chandler Robbins . . .	Boston.
" IV.	— Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D. .	"
" V.	— Prof. G. R. Noyes	Harv. Univer.
" VI.	— Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq. . .	New York.
" VII.	— Rev. O. B. Frothingham . . .	Salem.
" VIII.	— Rev. George E. Ellis	Charlestown.
" IX.	— Notices of Recent Publications.	
" X.	— Literary Intelligence.	
" XI.	— Religious Intelligence.	

*** Under the present law, postage on periodicals is *one cent for three ounces*, and *one cent for each additional ounce*; but, when paid quarterly in advance, a deduction of one-half is allowed.

The "Examiner" weighs not over *eight ounces*. The postage is, therefore, *six cents per number*, and, if paid *quarterly in advance*, but *three cents* per number, or *eighteen cents a year*.

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ary inspiration" is supposed to consist. We are invited, therefore, to call something inspiration which is the very opposite of all that was properly meant by the term; and indignation is expressed, and heresy is hinted, when we call any men inspired but those who are supposed to be thus magically stunned and benumbed. Heads are shaken, and the most solemn countenances assumed, when genius is called a kind of inspiration; and it is thought to be a certain horrible thing called "pantheism," if the inspiration of the Evangelists be put on a par with it. A difference is alleged, a difference in kind. And well there may be. But on which side is the dishonor? What man in his senses will compare the inspiration of Matthew with the inspiration of Milton, or that of Luke with that of Dante? The so-called inspiration which fitted a hearer to report correctly, for instance, the invocation of Christ's prayer, does not surely rank with the devout genius which could interpret it. To write down from the lips of the Saviour, "Our Father who art in heaven," does not imply that the soul is fanned by any sweet breath of God; but when we read,

> "O Padre nostro, che ne' cieli stai,
> Non circonscritto, ma per più amore
> Ch' ai primi effetti di lassù tu hai,"

we are moved on to a truer understanding of the Saviour's thought. Even if the evangelical reports were as accurate as they are asserted to be, they would not belong to the high efforts of the human mind. The divine which there we see is behind the document. Before Christ himself we stand with uncovered head, and naked feet, and streaming eyes. No profane suggestions of equality with him are ever breathed from our lips. No foolish confoundings of that moral elevation which he produced in his followers, with the intellectual elevation of less blessed men, are we ever guilty of. It is only when the sacred names are degraded, and the Holy Ghost is put on a level with a stenographer, with only one virtue, that of veracity, — it is only when holy things are profaned by such narrow theories, and letter and parchment substituted for divine utterance, — that we are impelled to take exceptions, and to declare, as we do, that the Evangelists in making their record had no inspiration.

The act of recording facts is not an act in which inspiration would assist; but inspiration would be the greatest hindrance to it. Who would not rather have a schoolboy than a sibyl to report a street-fight? And if you wished to know the facts of the taking of the Bastile, would you listen to Madame Guyon or to Monsieur Dusaulx? That divine afflatus which fits a man for creating, and which fits another man for interpreting, does not especially fit a man for testifying. We do not read of the gift of reporting, as one of the charismata of the early Church. It is well known that the "Evangelists," who are spoken of by Paul as among those endowed with the spirit, had a very different function from that of bearing witness to facts. The latter function was best discharged when the Spirit retreated from a mind which it had possessed, when a Christian, in the remissions of inspiration, fell into a state of calm memory, with nothing of his higher moods but the negative virtues which they had induced, — veracity, absence of all ambition, stillness and passiveness of sentiment.

We say, then, at the beginning, strangely confused and filled with smoke as is the atmosphere about this subject, that we see our object clearly, and will not confound it with any other. The question of the Gospels is not a question of inspiration, but a question of testimony. The party which continues to use that pedantic phrase, "plenary inspiration," in so loose and absurd a sense, not only asserts a theory, but affirms a fact on which the theory is in part predicated, — for which, perhaps, the theory is invented; namely, that the Gospels are historically accurate, that there is in them an absolute freedom from error. And this is made a capital point, the corner-stone of dogmatic orthodoxy. We propose to examine this corner-stone.

The first natural way of testing the correctness of any narrative is to compare it with the facts, however otherwise ascertained. But inasmuch as our sacred history covers a field which is not trodden by any other writers, and hardly touched, we find this method impossible. Yet since we have in our record several testimonies, one may be tried by the other; having made one Gospel the criterion of what really transpired, we may thereby test the faithfulness of all others which relate the same thing;

and although this method cannot absolutely establish the fidelity of either, it may make the fidelity highly probable, and, on the other hand, it may, if it turn out differently, demonstrate the alternative of one or another being incorrect.

There is only one way in which a fact really happened; and there is properly only one way in which it can be truly reported. It may be viewed on different sides, and different parts or aspects of it may be reported; but all these differences in the report must, as we say, be consistent, must stand together as making up a statement of one fact. The theological expounder may surpass the serpent in sly and slippery argument; but he cannot get out of the grasp of this plain rule of common sense, that two inconsistent reports of a fact cannot be both correct. Small inconsistencies may, indeed, only confirm the veracity of both witnesses; but they conclusively disprove the absolute accuracy of one.

A recent writer has aimed to cover up the distinction between a real and an imagined error. But we are not affected by his profusion. A mere appearance of error may be explained away, the deficiencies of evidence may be supplied, and further investigations may remove our grounds of censure. But any real error in the Gospels, however minute, is absolutely destructive to the theory in question. The *perfection* of the record, therefore, or, as they prefer to term it, its "infallibility," is asserted as with one voice by Gaussen, Kirk, Hengstenberg, and the North British Review; and they seem really to hope to rally the intelligent world again under that banner, shot through and falling in pieces from the hardships of former battles. It is indeed something remarkable, that a theory which is based on no claim of the writers themselves, which is younger in the Church than Chrysostom, which Luther would not tolerate, which had been buried in state at the beginning of this century, and which even Coleridge, the resuscitator of shadows, scorned to evoke, should be made to revisit the world in the broad day of critical inquiry, and be treated with the respect which belongs to flesh and blood. It shows a great fear in the breasts of so many, if it do not, as we think it cannot, show a great conviction.

We confess that we feel some shame at this aspect of

orthodoxy. These hoods of ancient errors, and these sober suits of a no longer possible reverence, seem to us any thing but a solemn garb. The arguments of the inspirationists sound to us like the fainting voices of the last apologists. The series which began with Justin Martyr appears to be closing. A fire appears to be breaking out in the foundations; and we hear the spirits muttering, "Let us go hence." The forced theories which have recently prevailed in conservative ranks seem to us the last feeble gesticulations of sinking faith. They have the formality and sadness of mourners at a funeral. They appear to be joining a procession into a world of shadows. They seem to complete the divorce of the Church from God and fact. They strip the soul, indeed, of all inspiration, and bow down before a "critical edition." They are our day's idolatries, and must be treated with something of the severity which is merited by apostasies from a generous faith.

It is a great dishonor to God, indeed, to suppose that his revelations are thrown upon our mercy, and that we must handle them with fearful tenderness. An equal error is it to suppose that any thing divine needs to be sustained by difficult theories, and a belief at war with open fact. God will take care of his own evidences. We need not be anxious lest He who gave a religion to the world shall let it fall. Our office is to study and love and prefer whatever he has set before us in the world of reality, to place the real always before the fictitious, to love the light rather than darkness, and to trust so far in his spirit as to believe that he deserts no mind which cherishes in itself the virtues. Of these virtues, veracity, honor, courage, are among the chief, and they should be exercised in the field of the Christian evidences. Christianity cannot be rescued by finesse. Wariness and circumspection are not virtues when they stand alone. Love of truth is the great virtue of the intellect; and should only be restrained by the love of men. It is profane to suppose that documents intended by God for the instruction of the nations need to be spared the exercise on them of our faculties.

Strangely enough, it seems to be a common feeling that he is the best Christian who makes that statement of the contents of the Gospels, or of the results of his

comparison of them, which most coincides with the previously entertained notions of their sacredness. On a question simply of fact, there is an endeavor to make as small admissions as possible, as if there were a responsibility resting on us to believe much and see things in a certain way. But the first act of impartial inquiry, surely, (and it is certainly a simple one,) is to look into the fact, and for convenience' sake to state it, neither adding to it nor taking from it, nor altering it in any way, but bringing it into a general statement, that we may better reflect on it and deduce from it whatever should fairly be deduced from it.

Now in comparing together the four books in which a narrative of events in the life of Christ is given, we find this fact. There are differences between them, differences in part, indeed, merely of greater or less fulness, or results of diverse views, but in part also amounting to substantial discrepances, and sometimes affecting seriously the purport of Christ's instructions. And these differences are not few and slight, but many and of considerable importance. That it may be seen that we speak not at random, it is necessary that we should exhibit several of these.

A marked disagreement exists in the two reports of the Sermon on the Mount, one in the first, the other in the third Gospel. We do not refer to the merely superficial discrepances in the statements of the occasion, place, and audience. That one writes "in the mountain," and the other "in the plain," is one of those differences in which Paley might take pleasure. For if Jesus went into the mountain, it was surely not to remain there, or to address the world from the top of it; and when the other narrator says that he came down into the plain, it is implied that he had been first in the mountain. Nor will we make any thing of "the multitudes" being the company addressed in the one record, and "the disciples" being evidently the persons addressed in the other; for this, though an important variance, may be denied, or may be reconciled. Our point is, that what we call the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew was, according to his testimony, spoken by Christ at one time, as a continuous discourse, so as he there delivers it. And it must be confessed, that nothing could have more plainly the

stamp of genuineness, than this report has in the main. Nothing could be more in character, nor more appropriate to the circumstances, than the memorable beatitudes, — the blessing of those who felt spiritual destitution; of those who mourned the disorders of the time; of those who hungered and thirsted after a truer righteousness than that of the religious teachers of the day; of those who, tried by doubt and error, should, for their purity of intention, be rewarded at last with seeing God. Nothing could be more natural than the main drift of the discourse, in which Jesus defines his position as an innovator, declares that he does not abrogate the received religion, and explains somewhat in detail his relation to it; and nothing could be more in keeping than that brief summary of some of the leading principles of his morality. We therefore incline to adopt the report in Matthew as authentic. But, however this may be, it is only to the purpose now to observe that the first, in order, of the "inspired writers," relates that the Sermon on the Mount was so spoken, — so as it is there set down.

In Luke we have a report of this address, not only varying, but discordant (vi. 20–49). The introductory beatitudes are not only verbally altered, but have a different sense. Only a brief sketch is given of the main argument, and that incorrect and confused. Topics which in Matthew are separate (as v. 38 and v. 43), in Luke are mingled. And many portions of the discourse as exhibited in Matthew, are reported by Luke in connection with other occasions in other places. See Luke xi. 1–4, the important passage containing the Lord's prayer, where some maintain the more natural connection is given; xii. 22–31, the saying of the ravens and of the lilies, naturally introduced; xi. 9–13, the well-known "Ask and it shall be given you," &c.; xiii. 24, the "Strive to enter in," with its sequel; xiii. 25–27, "Lord, Lord, open unto us"; xvi. 13, the "God and Mammon" in a new connection; xii. 58, a precept introduced in an unaccountable connection; xi. 34–36, "the light of the body is the eye," in an apparently false connection; and two sayings in xvi. 17, 18, in no connection whatever. There is room for difference of opinion how this dispersion of the members of this great discourse is to be accounted for; but there is no room for difference of opinion as to the fact.

And from the fact the necessary inference is, that one or the other Evangelist is wrong.*

The suggestion which is sometimes made in such exegetical straits as this, that different discourses are reported, surely does not merit attention. For every candid and intelligent reader must perceive that the same discourse is aimed at, that we have in the two reports two varying forms in which the same fact was handed down. Was the fact this? Or was it that? If Jesus began his address on the occasion intended, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," he did not begin it, "Blessed be ye poor." And, in general, there is no room for question, that, if Matthew's be a correct report, that contained in Luke is not. A matter of fact like this requires no delicacy, and no circumlocution. It lies on the face of the record. It was put there by him who made the record. And it is one of the circumstances which determine the character of that record.

Another instance of variation of such a sort as to constitute an absolute incompatibility, is found in that which in the first historian is an address of instructions to the twelve (Matt. x.), the matter of which is given by Luke, divided into two parts; one, and that the smaller (ix. 1), addressed to the twelve, and the other, the larger portion (x. 1), addressed to the seventy, whose mission Matthew omits. Here the advocates of "plenary inspiration" and its consequences must adventure the extravagant hypothesis of a verbal repetition, on a second occasion, of a great part of this long discourse.

But still more, in Luke's report of the address to the seventy we find matter introduced (x. 13 – 15) which apparently does not belong there, but which has its real place assigned it in Matthew xi. 20 – 27. One of the records or the other may be supposed to be the more authentic. But can it be imagined that this upbraiding of the cities was twice gone through, with such verbal sameness?

We will take another instance, in which the variation is smaller, and in which the variation may be easily ac-

* In Matthew himself there are sayings incorporated in the address, which probably did not belong to it. This is very likely the case with the Lord's prayer, which wants connection and appropriateness there, and is more naturally introduced in Luke.

counted for. There are two occasions on which it is related that Christ made a child the subject of a lesson to his disciples, but with entirely different intents; one, when he took a babe in his arms, and made it a symbol of fitness for the kingdom of heaven, a symbol of simplicity, perhaps, and docility; another, when he placed a child (not brought by the parents, but probably a child of age, a school-child who had strayed into the circle) in the midst before all, and said to his followers, that whoever "received," befriended, we will suppose, and taught such a child in his name, received him, — a lesson of active humility. We see how these occasions are distinguished, and how also they might be confounded. They are held perfectly distinct by all three Evangelists, and the words of Christ are given with substantial fidelity, except that one sentence is by Matthew taken from where it belongs, in the sequel of the first incident, after xix. 14 (see Mark x. 15 and Luke xviii. 17), and transferred to the connection of the second, xviii. 3, where it is made to join with what follows by a phrase peculiar to that report.* These things may not be at war with virtual fidelity; but they look not like instances of what is claimed, miraculous accuracy.

But we will end with a more important instance, and one which leaves us more at fault; and this time it concerns not a discourse, but an event. The first three Evangelists relate with unmistakable distinctness, that Jesus on the first day of unleavened bread caused preparations to be made for the paschal supper, and that at evening, the usual season of the Passover, he sat for the last time at table with his friends, and on the next day suffered. The fourth Evangelist relates, on the contrary, that this last supper took place "*before* the feast of the Passover," and that Jesus had already suffered, and his body become an offence to the Jews, before the hour of the Passover had arrived. (See John xiii. 1; xviii. 28, 39; xix. 14, 31, 42.) There are explanations of this discordance that remove every imputation upon the Evangelists by which our confidence in their general truth

* It is an instance of false criticism on the part of the Tübingen critics, that Schwegler makes Matthew here the standard, and would show from him that the others did not comprehend the sense of the second incident.

would be shaken, but none which leave intact the so-called "infallibility" of the record. Unless Jesus partook of the last supper twice, and was crucified twice, one or the other document is incorrect.*

If these were the only instances, or selected with difficulty, we should be less amazed at the boldness of some recent apologists. But we will venture to say, that they are but fair instances of the relation to one another in general of these compositions. The discrepances are obvious to the unlearned, and they only multiply under the examination of scholars. For one difference which criticism removes, there are ten which it discloses. The frequent incompatibility of the narratives, as strict ocular and auricular testimonies, is a thing which cannot be disputed, unless we put the books and ourselves out of the reach of the ordinary rules of examination and the universal laws of evidence. No man ever denied it who examined the books themselves, before having determined from other sources what they were. The denials proceed from men who have already shaped their doctrine, and doctrine involving the character of the record, from extraneous considerations, — the tradition of the Church, the general agreement of Christians, the supposed want, the necessity, which they think they see, for a literal and indisputable criterion, — and then, with these preconceptions and prejudgments, proceed to the examination of the evidence. The fact disproves the claim of Protestants, that their doctrine is founded on Scripture only. Much more it is founded on tradition and supposed reason. There is a floating tradition of what the general purport of Scripture is, and certain forms of

* We know not how those who assign the Gospel of John to a post-apostolic age account for this circumstance. For it would seem that a writer of the second century (A. D. 150 – 70, says Baur), knowing the other Gospels, as he certainly must, would have been careful not to vary from them in such a particular.

The existence of the variation is matter beyond question. The present writer listened to a very labored attempt of Hengstenberg to reason it out of the book; but it was a sad piece of oppressive ingenuity. For ourselves, we take the narrative in John for correct; and we regard the error in the other books as one of the proofs of the traditionary character of those testimonies. The error would slide in unperceived. It is a point on which, after twenty or thirty years, the tradition might easily have erred. And the error was favored by the tendency to make Christ in all respects a pattern of Jewish righteousness.

doctrine in which, as Scriptural, the generations are educated; and when the books come to be intelligently examined, they are examined under all the prepossession of an already fixed religion. In respect to Scripture, among Protestants, this religion amounts to superstition. A sacred cloud blinds the most sagacious. The divine oracles seem to them to bleed, when the knife of logic is applied to them. They devoutly pray that they may not find error. They earnestly believe that a sound system of doctrine, and so the salvation of the world, hangs, as by a multitude of fine threads, on the literal veracity of holy writ. The student therefore lays in stores of learning, *for the purpose*, from the beginning, of defending the evidences. Of course it is not strange, that, in the amazing ingenuity of these times, criticism should be found for any thing. The theologian would be ill-schooled who should be reduced wholly to silence in advocating any extravagance. But long before the arguing is over, the sound and candid understanding may see the truth and acknowledge it. That which is disputed may become no longer disputable, and the matter be settled beyond controversy.

Of the admitted discrepances of the Gospels there is an attempt at explanation, that shall avoid the concession of any imperfection, and sustain the character which is *a priori*, and for dogmatic reasons, imputed to the writings, — and it is indeed a very bold one, and certainly one broad enough. It proceeds on the assumption, that, when events, and especially discourses of Jesus, are related differently, they were in fact different; that in such cases the same thing substantially, only differenced thus and so, as the inspired narrative shows, took place twice, thrice, or as many times as there are varying reports of it. Thus what you call the varying report in Luke of the Sermon on the Mount, is no report of the Sermon on the Mount at all, but of a different address. It is true, that on one occasion Christ began a discourse of instruction, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and went on as set down in Matthew; but should this prevent him from beginning his instruction on another occasion, "Blessed are ye poor," and pursuing it as we read in Luke? And when one inspired writer had recorded one of these addresses, is it not natural that another inspired writer should omit that and record the other? We may try

this mode of riding over the difficulty by applying its method to an entirely different matter.

If one witness relate that Napoleon sailed from Elba in a brig, with eleven hundred men, and landed at Cannes in the evening of the 1st of March, and another that he sailed in a ship with nine hundred men and landed at Cannes in the afternoon of that day, — one that he advanced immediately to Grenoble and uttered certain proclamations, the other, that he went forward only after some delay and uttered proclamations of a different tenor, — how would it do to conclude that Napoleon sailed twice from Elba, once in a ship and once in a brig, that he took two different bodies of men with him, that he landed twice at Cannes, that there were two advances towards Grenoble, that the different versions of his proclamations refer to different instruments, and so on through the whole journey to Paris?

We cannot engage fruitfully in the investigation of the Christian evidences without the docile spirit of liberal inquiry. It is essential that we should feel a sincere interest in the fact as it is, and not aim to mould it into the form of our presupposition. In argument we must cherish candor and tolerance. That spirit of the pugilist, which has crept into this, as into other spheres of earnest discussion, is in this unusually fatal. The class of writers is not small, who, when they find reasons unanswerable, think they can despatch them with an epithet. There is a gladiatorial, jealous spirit in most, as well sceptical as orthodox, arguing on this subject, which we would gladly exorcise. It should be understood, that we are little likely to refute an opinion which we hate; for what we hate, we seldom understand. The questions in this department are certainly difficult ones; they require both learned and long investigations; they are essentially questions of probability; and they therefore should be treated with care and candor, with long reflection and digestion of reasons, with a diligent collation of considerations affecting them, with soberness of judgment and mutual scholarship. The declaimers will hold their way in spite of us, and on both sides with equal vehemence and invective. But the public interest is only the truth.

And candor is of hardly more importance than precision. Evangelical criticism has reached a stage in which

general and loose statements are no longer of any value. Every statement should have the precision of a die. We should know the subject of which any thing is predicated; and we should know what is predicated of it. The reader in this department is often at a loss to discover precisely of what the writer makes his affirmation. He finds "the Gospels" spoken of, without being notified whether under that term he is to understand the extant canonical Gospels, or the extant Gospels with certain exceptions and excisions, or some books or other which answered substantially to them, or, in general, historical books received by the Church as sacred. He finds a writing designated as "Matthew"; but whether by that be meant the book we have, or a supposed book of which we read in the early testimonies, and whether the identity of these is taken for granted, he is not informed. The language used concerning these uncertain entities is often equally indeterminate. The subject being treated from a dogmatic and partisan interest, general defiant assertions are made, or assertions which leave all the difficulties still afloat. The minds of our divines need to be educated to the profitable discussion of this subject.

The opinion that the records of Christ now possessed by the Church were not composed at once by appointed men, but came into existence by a conglomeration of testimonies around certain narratives of individual authority which formed their nuclei, is not to be confounded with the opinion that the records are corrupt. Nor is there any occasion for a polemical attack on such an opinion, as if it were unfavorable to a reverence for these writings, even if that consideration were of any pertinency in an inquiry of this nature. That opinion, moreover, is, *a priori*, at least as probable as the more ancient one, that the four Gospels are the original work of four separate and single men. And the hypothesis which it makes is not at all unnatural. For so long as any persons were alive who could give authentic testimony of Christ, it is not reasonable to suppose that Christians would refuse to receive such testimony; and receiving it, they would naturally incorporate it with such narratives as they already had, if they had any. And it is wholly irrelevant to press an argument from the rever-

ence, amounting almost to superstition, which was subsequently entertained for the books when completed, and which guarded them from mutilation and spurious additions, in order to show that the early Christians would not have pursued such a collating method in the construction of them. For the very respect for Jesus which made Christians of one day jealous for the preservation of their Scriptures, would make Christians of an earlier day earnest for the perfecting of their Scriptures. If, indeed, it be assumed that, before any others began to think of writing memoirs of that august personage, persons appointed by him for that express purpose composed certain accounts which they gave to the Church, and which the Church received, as authoritative and final, the process suggested could not easily have gone on. But for that assumption there is no ground except a popular prejudice. The theory of "inspired penmen" and an "apostolic record," as commonly understood, is purely taken out of the air. There is no material for such a theory. The age to which our sacred books are ascribed is all vacant, for us to occupy it as we will with such hypotheses as answer to probability and the actual character of the Scriptures to be accounted for, and to the very slight and meagre evidence which remains to us from an age near enough to that to make its evidence important. Since these several sources of argument, then, the look of the Scriptures themselves, the probability of the case, and the hints of testimony, tend, as we shall shortly show in part more particularly, to prove that Apostles, or men of authority associated with them, wrote *something;* and since it is also probable, from the same considerations, that this something would not be either exhaustive or absolutely authoritative, but would leave other information to be obtained from other witnesses of equal credibility, — it stands to reason and to the evidence, that any such supplementary information, which might be obtained, would not be either neglected or left to perish, or even be distributed in numerous separate books, but that, in obedience to the spirit of order and classification, the fragments would be moulded together into wholes, and such accounts as were supposed defective made as far as possible complete, and among accounts which were discrepant, the seeming preferable preferred. And

from a process of this nature might result books corresponding well in the main with the apostolic preaching, and yet not, at least in their entireness, the proper work of apostolic hands. Such being the probability, it remains for us to inquire, unbiased and unterrified by any long-received theory, what it is, with regard to the Gospels, which may be proved.

Mr. Norton, in his careful and learned work on the "Genuineness of the Gospels," has done a great and generally acknowledged service, in showing the strength and the extent of the presumptive evidence for the truth of the Gospel history. We are of opinion, however, that his argument applies less powerfully to the precise points for which he expressly frames it, than to more general conclusions. If his argument is to be taken solely in its bearing on the genuineness of the records in question, on that point, as he defines it, we find reason to regret, in the first place, that he did not take a more extended view of the objections which have been raised in respectable quarters, and, in the second place, that his distinctions were not more nice. In his eagerness to destroy and leave no vestige of the theory of Eichhorn, he passes by other theories which, not, like that, defunct, have numerous living and able defenders. He speaks too much in terms of odium of approximations to views which are at least as much in consistency with the evidence as his own. And having begun and constructed his work with reference solely to certain hypotheses, he is unable in a subsidiary way to take proper notice of another, which is much more worthy of his pains. The whole matter of the theory of their composition, apart from the question who the authors were, he thinks to be finished clean in the alternative that they either were originally composed by one hand as they now are, or that they have been corrupted. But into the middle of this alternative there inserts itself a third hypothesis, the only theory which in our judgment is now tenable, that the Gospels were gradually composed. If a critic do not see the difference between such a gradual composition as we have suggested, and a "tampering with" the records, he will thereby be incapable of properly estimating the argument. It is true we refer only to the synoptists, that is to say, to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

The Gospel of John is a separate affair; and it must be handled by itself.* But of the synoptists we assert, without intending here to adduce the proof of it, that, whether the testimonies contained in them be primitive or not, (we believe that they mostly are primitive,) there are considerations of such force as not only make probable, but demonstrate, that they were not composed each freely by an originally working hand. The character of the books is such as, when carefully examined, and indeed in some measure on a cursory perusal, to show that they are digested collectanea, and that the hands which digested them were not hands of Apostles. This is one of the results of the criticism of this century, which we consider made out, established, and beyond question. We make no objection to Mr. Norton's first proposition, that "the Gospels remain essentially the same as they were originally composed," if that mean that the books we have remain essentially the same as they were when finally digested, — if the word "originally" be intended to cover nothing more than the origin of these particular books, the completion and final composing, correcting, and trimming of the material in hand. But as we follow our learned captain in his strenuous dissertation, we perceive that there lurks in the proposition another meaning, and that part of the intended affirmation is, that

* The objections of the Tübingen school to this Gospel are of a peculiar nature, and find some answer in the ready and strong sense which all readers have of the apostolic worthiness of the Gospel. That it is the work of one soul profoundly moved and religiously raised, cannot be doubted. Nor is it easy to see any improbability, much less impossibility, that a Galilean fisherman, having experienced the influence of Christ's familiar companionship, and then lived half a century under the education of such a religion, and in such a position as John occupied, should be capable of that mystic strain which has charmed the world. We hope it will not be thought irreverent if we suggest, as a fact illustrative of this, that the celebrated Rousseau, at the age at which St John is supposed to have attached himself to Jesus, had not addicted himself in any manner whatever to literature, but was a domestic servant. The mystic, or, if you will, philosophic strain, which is recognized in the fourth Gospel, affords no ground for a presumption against the tradition as to its authorship. The trace of later opinions, which certain critics think they find in the book, may easily be imagined by men who are predisposed to find the literature of the Church subsequent to its doctrine. For the rest, we wait with impatience for opportunity to examine those citations in the work of Hippolytus, which Chevalier Bunsen promises shall certify the Gospel as far back as the year 120. They will furnish a new and important item of evidence, and, if they turn out as the editor describes them, will undo at a stroke the labored arguments over which Baur and his disciples have been singing pæans these ten years.

each Gospel was composed by one person as an original work. This we not only call in question; but we are ready, if necessary, fully to disprove it.

It must be acknowledged, in justice to the work in view, that its second proposition, that the books "were written by those whose names they bear," would cover the ambiguity of the former proposition, and, if fully proved, leave it comparatively unimportant after what method and with what helps, if any, persons holding such a station saw fit to indite these Scriptures. But this proposition Mr. Norton, unhappily, not from any deficiency of logic, but, as all other reasoners, from utter want of evidence, absolutely fails to prove. Again, we say, our remarks apply only to the synoptists. With regard to them, we aver our confident conviction, that all attempts to establish on a sure foundation the correctness of the popular tradition as to the authorship of those books, will fatally miscarry. But something more of this presently.

Before quitting these volumes, we must say that Mr. Norton's position is very much weakened by the exceptions he makes from the genuineness of the contents of the books. Olshausen and others who preceded Norton were more secure, in being more consistent. Whatever historical evidence applies to any part of the books, applies to the whole of them. The orthodox apologist does well to hold on to such evidence as there is, with the clench of despair. The moment the validity or the sufficiency of that evidence is doubted, the critic drifts away into questions of great difficulty and of doubtful issue. So soon as we let go our grip of the tradition, we all go floundering together into the sea of the internal evidence.

And when once there, who shall say whither we may swim? And who can assure us that we shall not drown? If one critic clips off one chapter, another critic clips off another. The last of John follows the first of Matthew; the adulterous woman follows the last of John; Judas's death, the risen saints, and the second feeding of the multitudes, all start away; the first miracle and the last charge sit uneasily in their places; and the whole record seems to be alive with an insurrection of doubts.

They therefore act prudently, who, wishing to maintain an absolute criterion of dogmatic accuracy, resolutely

refuse to lend a hearing to any suggestions of such a suspicious nature, and regard the whole document as of uniform, immaculate authority. Nothing less than the dogmatic assertion of a miracle, than the theoretic postulate of inspiration, can rescue the Scripture from the strictures of criticism. If the salvation of the world depend on the dogma of the Church being maintained, in respect to the canonicity and perfection of the evangelical records, the cultivated part of the world may well despair, and the ignorant part of it intrench themselves in an obstinate bigotry. We humbly believe that this is not the trench in which the battle of humanity is to be fought; that we can leave all the dogmas of the Church behind us without loss; that so long as we have Christ fixed in the soul of the world, and truth in the serene upper sky, all our prospects are bright, and the heritage of freedom remains unimpaired.

Christians at large are naturally content with a far less minute investigation of the evidences than becomes the professed Biblical student. For them, it is sufficient to learn that the Gospels we now possess have been immemorially received in the Christian Church. From that they draw the natural and just inference, that they contain a true account of the origin of the religion. Such an inference is entirely justified; and it is satisfactory. The faith of Christendom does not depend on any minuter evidence; and of course it is not sustained or shaken by learned studies. The general argument, in its rough shape, is what appeals to good sense and sound religious feeling. But when we proceed farther, as scholars, to investigate the authorship and composition of these books, we enter upon a matter of great delicacy and large extent, which demands such research, and requires such correctness and skill, that it can be properly handled only by those who have been truly initiated in liberal studies, and who have, moreover, made this a subject of special study. Not only is popular argument here wholly out of place; but the judgment of well-trained men is of little value, unless they have given a specific attention to the subject in hand.

A common feeling of the insecurity of the earlier evidences has led critics recently to take their departure from the latter part of the second century, and thence to reason

backwards. It is perfectly well known, and conceded on all hands, that our books were universally received among Christians at that time, and that they were referred back to the apostolic age, and ascribed to those persons whose names they have ever since borne. The works of Irenæus and Tertullian, Clement and Origen, leave nothing to be desired in the way of proof of this general reception and implicit belief. The books had at that period canonical and exclusive authority.

The next step is backward to Justin Martyr, in the middle or second third of the second century, whose earliest extant work, his first "Apology," is to be assigned to the year 139. From his numerous quotations of Holy Writ, it is the fair and just conclusion, a conclusion in which most of the learned, we believe, (with the exception of Baur and his followers,) are now agreed, that all our Gospels were, in substance at least, if not with all their present modifications and readings, and probably without their names, not only in existence in his time, and used by him, but that they were then respected as containing the true record of Christianity, to the exclusion of other books, with one or two exceptions, and that they were then publicly read in the assemblies of Christians, together with the books of the Old Testament.*

Here ends the clear direct evidence of the existence of our present books, unless we give weight to a report preserved in Eusebius, and enlarged by Jerome, that Pantænus, who was president of the school in Alexandria

* The numerous passages cited by Justin from what he calls the "Apostles' Memoirs," correspond in general as nearly with passages found in our Gospels, as we could presume they would do, under the circumstances, if he in fact quoted them. When the citations consist of words of Christ, they all thus correspond, the variations being only such as would naturally arise from his dispensing with the troublesome consultation of his scroll, and trusting to his memory, and also from his caring more for the substantial sense than for the letter of the expression. Indeed, his quotations of this description are as accurate as modern quotations of the Scriptures generally are. When, on the other hand, he cites facts or circumstances of facts, they, in most of the instances, seem to be drawn from one or another of our books, or from several combined. But not in all. He in several places mentions circumstances which are not related in our Gospels. And the probability is, that he used, in addition to these books, a Gospel which has been lost. His citations from John, indeed, are slight; and they have been disputed. Citations from Mark, on account of the resemblance of that book to its congeners, are more difficult to establish, in one case only any thing being cited which is absolutely peculiar to the second Gospel. Dial. c. Tr. p. 333; compare Mark iii. 17.

(A. D. 192), going on a mission to India (Southern Arabia), found there a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which had been put into the hands of the believers of that country by Bartholomew, — and that he brought the book back with him to Egypt. This would certainly be very much in point, and would be of great importance in several ways. But unfortunately it is given by Eusebius only as a report, — "it is said," "the report goes," — and is probably no otherwise known to Jerome than through Eusebius. This clew vanishing, there is no testimony for the existence of the books which is more ancient than that of Justin Martyr. The supposed references contained in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers amount to nothing as testimonies to these specific books; and no ancient authorities, either in extant works, or preserved in the citations of later authors, furnish us any evidence for the existence of the books from an earlier period than that of the writings of Justin. Our most ancient testimony remains, for the present at least, and until other material be discovered, the testimony of the middle of the second century.

For the much mooted testimony of Papias will be found, on careful consideration, to be much less applicable to the point under discussion, than it has in some quarters been supposed to be. This testimony is thought to concern two of the four books, Matthew, namely, and Mark. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a Christian author, the time of whose flourishing is generally set down between A. D. 110 and A. D. 120, is quoted, indeed, by Eusebius, as making certain statements of interest on the subject of a certain book composed by Matthew, and another book composed by Mark. We are unable, however, to identify these compositions with the books which were afterward current and which are still preserved under their names. This is the point which seems to be forgotten by writers on this subject; although the flaw in the argument is such a one as could not pass unobserved or be other than fatal in any trial at law, or in a rigorous investigation of any other piece of literary evidence than this.

It is true that, when we find certain books in general use at the end of the century bearing the names of Matthew and Mark, then these same books quoted anony-

mously in the middle of the century, and then a writer of the beginning of the century stating that Matthew and Mark actually wrote certain books under certain circumstances, it is natural enough to suppose that the books spoken of by the earlier witness are the same with those which were afterwards current, if the language in which he speaks of them and describes them be such as is applicable to the books in question, and if evidence from other quarters go to confirm such a conclusion. But nothing could be more rash, than, on the ground of the writing testified to being of the same general class, to conclude that it was identical with a writing which afterwards became known. It is very clear, for instance, that an early testimony concerning the composition of poems by Ossian, would not prove that he was the author of the particular poems translated by Mr. Macpherson. And it is very clear, also, that a statement of Papias, that Matthew and Mark wrote certain "Gospels," even if he used that very word, would not prove that they wrote the Gospels which we have. Giving Papias full credit for being a trustworthy and well-informed man, which we know no reason to doubt, notwithstanding Eusebius's fling at him, the application which we should make of his evidence will depend wholly on our understanding of that evidence. We shall have to go to his own language to discover of what books, or of what kind of books, he speaks.

We do not doubt that this piece of evidence is generally read with an understanding that the writer of it had the canonical books especially in his eye, and intended thereby to confirm them. But since one of the questions at issue is, whether the books existed at the time that sentence was penned, and another is, whether they were canonical, and another still, whether they had then any names attached to them, it is certainly rather rapid reasoning to beg all these questions at once, and wholly forget the difference between those times and our own. Certain it is that Eusebius quotes Papias with reference to the received Gospels. But this is purely the historian's affair, and does not compromise the witness, or change at all the nature of his testimony. What, then, is that testimony?

The reported statement of Papias is, that "Matthew,

in the Hebrew language, compiled (συνετάξατο) the oracles or sacred sayings" (τὰ λόγια), *scilicet* "of the Lord," and that "every one interpreted them as he was able." This is the whole of his information concerning Matthew. Now what kind of book is there described? The work of Papias himself, from which this statement is taken, was entitled, Λογίων Κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις, or, as Jerome rightly translates it, "*Sermonum Domini Explanatio*," explanation of the Lord's sayings. And are we to suppose that Papias uses the word λόγια in description of Matthew's work in any other sense than that in which he applies it to his own? The common use of the word, when we translate it "oracles," implies the utterance of divine wisdom. So, when it is used with regard to Christ, it describes his sayings as, in like manner, an utterance of divine wisdom. The language of Papias, naturally taken, signifies that Matthew collected the sacred instructions of Christ, collected them into a book. And such a collection, although it might perhaps include notices of the occasions of the instructions, and other elucidations of them, would not, in all probability, constitute a complete book of history, or what is called in modern times a Gospel, like our Matthew. Neither the section giving account of the birth and infancy, nor that detailing the trial, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ, could be included in a collection of the sacred sayings, the λόγια. The statement of Papias does not cover, therefore, the book to which Eusebius and those who have followed him would apply it.

It must be admitted, indeed, that the collection spoken of by Papias could not have been a collection entirely different from and disconnected with those which have been preserved to us; because such a collection as he speaks of would be too important to be lost. But we are far from being driven to the alternative, that the work spoken of answered in full to the book now extant. The name of Matthew, attached by tradition to the first book of the New Testament, of itself makes it probable that that book has some connection in fact with his testimony. It is more natural to suppose a real connection, than to believe that the name was attached to the book without authority, for no better reason, perhaps, than that this old bishop stated, that Matthew had written something simi-

lar. And since there is no evidence to the contrary, we should confidently presume that there was a connection of substance between the two. But that is very far from presuming them identical. The evidence of Papias, on the contrary, is opposed to this presumption. It greatly favors the hypothesis, which other considerations render highly probable, that a register of the most important sayings of Christ by the Apostle formed the nucleus of the present Gospel, in which other testimonies were afterwards incorporated; and that, though "according to Matthew" might be very allowable in the title, the completed book could by no means be regarded as Matthew's work. Whether that which is here conjectured be indeed the fact, can be determined only after submitting the book itself to a close literary inspection. The more our knowledge of the literary habits of Irenæus, his contemporaries and successors, leads us to distrust their decision on a question of criticism like this, the more we are sent home to our own judgment. As has been said, we are here bound by no evidence. It is all a matter of probability and conjecture, and rational presumption from very slight historical hints, and from the character of the record itself, which we possess in full. It is the latter which will chiefly determine us. And as we study that record with reference to a theory of its composition, the presumption will gradually rise to certainty, that, if the first Gospel contain the testimony of the Apostle Matthew, written down by himself, that does not constitute the whole of the book, but is incorporated in a mass of heterogeneous information, some of which is derived from witnesses of inferior credibility.

Of Mark, Papias writes more at length, and more specifically, and grounds his statement on the authority of an earlier witness, namely, "the presbyter" John. The purport of what he states on this head is well known, — that Mark, Peter's interpreter, not having been a hearer nor a follower of the Lord, but only of the Apostle, set down in order what he remembered of the sayings and doings of Christ, according to Peter's preaching, who, it is remarked, did not relate things in their order, but according as the occasion of his preaching demanded; and it is added, that Mark was careful neither to omit nor falsify any thing of what he heard. Now, in respect

to this important testimony, which is in fact the testimony of the "presbyter," the grave question immediately arises, who the person here spoken of is; whether he be indeed that John Mark of whom we find mention made in various places in the New Testament, at whose mother's house the disciples were wont to assemble at Jerusalem, and to whom the Church attributes the second Gospel, or whether he be another person. It is not easy to believe that a man so situated and so related as this disciple, should never have been a hearer or follower of Jesus. And still more, if he were the person intended, we should expect to hear something from the presbyter of Paul and Barnabas as his teachers; for it is with them that we read of his travelling, and there is nothing in the New Testament which links him especially with Peter, — the salutation at the close of the Epistle of Peter referring, we think, to a different man. If the Mark of Papias, then, be not that John Mark to whom the Church has ascribed the second book of its collection, and, indeed, however that point may be determined, it will remain to be shown, that the Papian testimony has any thing to do with that second book. And in fact, all historical means of identifying those notes of Peter's preaching and our second Gospel absolutely fail us; and we are cast back upon the Gospel itself, to determine, from its conformation and character, whether it is a book which might have been so composed. In spite of Lücke's judgment to the contrary, we think it has not that appearance. And if the conclusion of eminent critics be true, that the second Gospel is derived almost exclusively from the first and the third, we cannot of course identify it with a writing having an independent authority, such as that described by Papias. In short, there is great improbability for the received opinion, and nothing whatever to overcome it but a coincidence of names.

If we may follow the hints of the New Testament, the Mark who attended Peter was not that John of Jerusalem, but the Apostle's own son; for so he is called in that text, at the close of Peter's Epistle, where the Church, ever on the lookout for spiritual meanings, has been unwilling to find any thing but a spiritual relation. We think that Neander has the right on his side, when, against De Wette, he understands ἡ συνεκλεκτη, "my con-

sociate in election," to signify his *wife*, and not a church. And if so, the literal understanding of "son" follows as matter of course. This would not, it is true, affect much, one way or the other, the evangelical question.

It would be much more to the purpose to find, in that citation of Justin Martyr referred to by Mr. Norton (Vol. I. p. 192), an allusion to our Gospel as "a Gospel of Peter." But the language does not bear that sense. The *αὐτοῦ* of the clause in question must refer to the same subject as the *αὐτὸν* of the clause preceding it, and that is Christ.* By "his memoirs," Justin means the memoirs of the Saviour.

The conclusion is, that we have nothing whatever to identify the composition spoken of by Papias with our second Gospel, and that all the objections to that identification which are derived from the character of the Gospel itself remain in their full force.

It is quite possible that those notes spoken of by him were incorporated in our third Gospel, and were among the writings referred to in the introduction to it.

The third Gospel is without that shadow of direct evidence which is enjoyed by the other two. But it possesses a much greater advantage in having the support of the book of Acts, which is evidently, as it purports to be, from the same author, and, indeed, only a second part of the same work. That the author was Luke, "the beloved physician," the assistant of Paul in Rome (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), to whom the tradition ascribes it, is for several reasons improbable. (See De Wette, Einleitung, §§ 101, 114, 115.) There is no mention made of this Roman physician as being among the attendants of Paul on his journey, although the names of his attendants are in several places given. It is more natural, therefore, to ascribe those narratives in the Acts, which are given in the first person, to some one

* The passage is as follows: *καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπυμνημεύμασιν αὐτοῦ, γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους, κ. τ. λ.* — then the citation of Mark iii. 17. Olshausen, though under the same temptation with Norton, acknowledges that the *αὐτοῦ* must refer to Christ. Schwegler, under a different dogmatic bias, hoping to prove that Justin used a Petrine Gospel, allows himself the same violence with which Norton is chargeable. And Credner, before them both, had done the same. But De Wette's true philological sense sees the inadmissibility of the interpretation.

who, we have reason to believe, was in Paul's company; to Timothy, for instance, for whose authorship several circumstances speak. But since other portions of the book betray a much more remote connection with the events, we are not justified in the conclusion that the whole work proceeded from that person. Both books, the Acts as well as the Gospel, were evidently composed with the use of previous documents, and not merely from the author's own reminiscences and the result of his own inquiries. We see the influence of Paul in the doctrinal coloring of certain parts; and that the author was not a Hebrew, but a Gentile Christian, appears from several allusions to popular customs, and from the fluent and correct manner in which he writes the Greek.

From the fact that the Apostle is left by the Acts in imprisonment at Rome, and nothing is related of his subsequent life, it has been inferred that, when the book was composed, Paul remained in that situation, and that the date of the whole work is hereby determined for us. This inference, however, is very hasty. For whereas the arrival of Paul at Rome could not have been later than A. D. 62, and the period at which the history leaves him not later, therefore, than A. D. 64, references to the destruction of Jerusalem in the Gospel show, in all probability, that that, the earlier, part of the work was not composed until after that event, which took place in A. D. 70. And a much more probable reason for the book closing where it does is to be found in the fact, that what the author proposed to himself, namely, a history of the foundation and spread of the religion, is there completed, and any thing further would be supererogatory. The theme of the book of the Acts is set forth in the first chapter. It is that promise and prophecy of Christ, "Ye shall receive power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you; and ye shall be my witnesses, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." The author had proposed to himself the history of the fulfilment of this promise; and he considers that fulfilment complete when the Apostle has preached the Gospel at Rome, and there "taught those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him."

The Gospel of Luke was certainly a later product of

the Church than the Gospel of Matthew. But from the examination of both is to be drawn the same inference, the inference which all the testimonies favor, that these evangelical records were not made by the hands of the first disseminators of the religion, at a time closely subsequent to the events, but by men of a second class, and at a later day, using in their composition accounts of an earlier date, some of which were written by eyewitnesses, and many of which perhaps bore the authority of Apostles.

The fourth Gospel stands by itself, distinct and peculiar. It is of a character not to be classed with the rest. It is manifestly the work of a single soul, religiously elevated and penetrated with conviction. And it breathes Apostolic dignity and authority. And yet, singularly enough, the tone and color of the representation of Christ, and the style of the composition, mark it as less primitive than the greater part of the synoptical Gospels. It is the work of a more reflective age. It has far less the stamp of a first impression. This fact is accounted for by the great age of John, and the length of time during which his genius and the common mind had been ripening under the influences of Christianity, at the time when the Gospel was composed. Indeed, the Matthew who filled the office of collector of customs on the great road to Damascus, and was content to be reckoned among the ἁμαρτωλοὶς, until a mightier voice called him, the author of the collection of sayings of which Papias speaks, was certainly not more different from the careful, methodical compiler of the canonical Gospel which goes by his name, than John, the fiery fisherman, who would call down fire on the Samaritans, and who earned by the vehemence of his temper the name of Boanerges, was from the mild and gentle nature which forty or fifty years later embodied in literature those mystic conversations of his Master which have so largely increased the substantial consolations of humanity.

In a sketch like the present, we cannot, of course, go into the details of the subject. It is one of the most difficult problems in literary history to establish the relation which our Gospels bear to one another, and frame a probable theory of their composition. Concerning the three first, or the so-called synoptical Gospels, however, we

consider the following points to be sufficiently established: 1. That they are not wholly independent compositions. 2. That they differ from the fourth Gospel in not bearing the stamp of an individual mind, nor the character of continuous composition. 3. That there is in neither of them strict unity of style. 4. That there are in each of them statements, which could not have come from original witnesses. 5. That Matthew is not a mere translation of an Aramæan original. 6. That Luke is, in the greater part of its substance, independent of Matthew.* 7. That Mark is an excerpt from Matthew and Luke, generally abridged, with occasional glosses and strokes of graphic embellishment, and with some additions.†

* It deserves, however, to be carefully investigated, whether Matthew was not among the books referred to and used by Luke, and also whether there be any ground for the opinion of some, that John also was consulted by him.

† The free additions of Mark amount to only seventeen verses: iv. 26–29; vii. 32–37; viii. 22–26; and xiv. 51, 52. A variation exists in the story of the fig-tree, xi. 11–14. In ix. 33–50 we seem to have the preferable form of a narrative common to the three. The short passage xiii. 33–37 is only a condensation of Matthew xxiv. 37.–xxv. 13, compared with Luke xii. 35 et seq. The relation of the synoptical Gospels to one another is best investigated with the aid of the Harmony published by De Wette and Lücke, "Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci et Lucæ cum parallelis Joannis pericopis, ex recensione Griesbachii cum selecta lectionum varietate, Berolini et Londini MDCCCXVIII.," in which each of the three Gospels successively holds the leading place, and the disadvantage is avoided which results from preferring one as the standard, and breaking up the order of the others to bring them into parallelism with it. After the student has carefully gone through the whole of Mark in such a synopsis, comparing it with the others at every step, there can hardly a doubt remain upon him, that Mark is written from Matthew and Luke.

Moreover, we look in vain through the Gospel for any marks of the Apostle Peter having had any share in its origin. Some passages which concern him, such as the "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona," are omitted; others, where he was chief witness, show no sign of his more special testimony. Allusions to Jewish customs and explanations of them, such as that of the ceremonial lavations, vii. 2–4, 8, as well as the giving here and there the original Aramæan expressions, as "Korban," "Talitha Cumi," and the statement of the value in Roman currency of the smallest coin used in Palestine, xii. 42, show that the book was composed for foreigners not acquainted with Jewish affairs, and probably for Italians. Perhaps a slight intimation of want of acquaintance with the country of Palestine on the part of the writer himself is found in his variation of the parable of the mustard-seed, the common "Sinapis," which does indeed in that country "become a tree"; for we have among other testimonies that of a Rabbi Simon, who says that he used to climb into one,— "Caulis sinapis in agro meo, in quam ego scandere solitus sum"; but Mark seems to have thought it incredible, and therefore to have omitted the calling it a tree, and to have substituted "the shadow of it" for "its branches," as the place where "the fowls of the air may lodge." Mark iv. 32. More obvious instances might very probably be cited.

We have not dismissed these pages without looking through some recent essays on the last-named Gospel of a tenor adverse to our conclusions, especially a Review of Griesbach's dissertation in No. XXI. of the Prospective Review, according to which the Gospel is "a document carried on from day to day during our Lord's ministry"! and of course prior to Matthew and Luke; and an article by Hilgenfeld in Zeller's Theologische Jahrbücher for 1852, in which the writer attempts to maintain Mark's priority to Luke, especially against Baur's arguments. The above conclusion, however, remains firm. And the original strokes found in Mark, and the graphic touches with which the narrative is occasionally brightened, only show that, in preparing the book for an especial public, the author did not bind himself to his guides.

They all three, however, give substantially the same picture of Jesus, and communicate substantially the same religion and rule of life. They are all filled with the same peculiar spirit, and leave the same solemn impression on the reader, the same lingering hopes and sentiments, the same penitence and the same aspirations after their perusal. So that this diversity, which is critically demonstrated, does not prove a hindrance in the practical use of them. It is superficial and formal. The religion makes itself felt uniformly in spite of it. The difference is only in the caskets, or at most in the cutting of the brilliants. No diversity in the conception of the end of human life, as exhibited in that character they portray, is anywhere detected.

The result of the investigation is, that the synoptical Gospels rest not on individual, but on corporate authority. They are not the testimonies of single men; but they are the profession by the early Church of what it believed to be the facts of its origin.

So much might suffice, except that, inasmuch as we have ample evidence of the early existence of evangelical books which are now lost, it becomes desirable to determine, if possible, the relation which our books bear to such lost Gospels, as well as to the traditionary material of evangelical history out of which written Gospels arose. This is a more important subject of investigation, from the fact that we cannot prove our books to have been

established as canonical in the Church, still less, that they were received to the exclusion of other authorities, written or oral, until a long period, say nearly a century, had elapsed after the decease of Christ. The period from the date of this event to the end of the first century of our era, was the period in which it is presumed that our Gospels were composed, acquired respect, and rose into general authority. But in doing so, they separated themselves from the loose material of tradition, and from the company of other documents which at one time rivalled them. This leads some to fear that, in what is preserved, we have only secondary authorities; that the Church may have erred in preferring the less authentic documents, and handed down to posterity the spurious offshoots of a stock which they left to perish. Into this subject also we must refrain from entering at length. We content ourselves with laying down certain positions, which we consider satisfactorily established, and which we are prepared to defend.

1. The received Gospels contain the primary testimonies of the Christian Church.

2. They were the first complete records of the Church. By which we mean, there were no other books existing before them to which the Church referred as containing an adequate account of the facts on which it was founded; and it did so refer to these.

3. While these books came thus to be regarded and approved as the authentic archives of the Church, other books fell into disuse, and were set aside and forgotten, which contained a varying account of the same history.

4. Of these, which are called the uncanonical Gospels, there is only one of which we have a distinct account; and the others appear to have closely resembled that one.

5. There is no proof, and there are no considerations which make probable, but rather the contrary, that that book, or any other of which notice has reached us, was the original from which the books of the canon were derived. And from the examination of the books of the canon themselves, the confident conclusion is attained, that they are not corrupt forms of purer originals.

The existence of the books to which we refer has been disputed by some, under a strong bias from their own opinions, but wholly without reason. All the ancient

testimonies concur in showing that there was current in very early times a Gospel which has not been preserved. This is called "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," by which we are to understand that it was the Gospel current among the believers of Palestine.* This book was long retained in use by the Judaizing Christians, especially by the Nazarenes; and Jerome, in the fourth century, when it had become a matter of curiosity, found a copy of it at Berœa, transcribed it, and translated it both into Latin and into Greek. This was probably the identical book which was called also "The Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles." And from this title, and from the locality where it was found in use, it has been hastily concluded that it was the original Gospel, and contained the testimony of the followers of Christ in a more primitive form; a conclusion which the passages preserved from it in the citations of the early authors contribute as little to favor, as the decision of the Church, which consigned the book to oblivion, leaves it probable.

All the uncanonical literature appears to hover about this Gospel of the Hebrews. Indeed we never get out of the sphere of attraction of it, so long as we remain outside of the canon. The Scripture seems to have but this one solid satellite, for which Irenæus perhaps would find a reason in the earth's having but one moon. The "Gospel according to Peter" was hardly, if we may judge from the slight notices we have of it, more than the same compend under another title. Another name occurs, "The Gospel according to the Egyptians"; and the book current under that title had, we find, an encratite character, and it was used by Sabellius. We have no ground, however, for determining its character more nearly. Its title carries our thoughts to that story of the Indian mission of Pantænus, from which it seems to be a natural conclusion that a Gospel was in use in Egypt, however procured, which passed for the Hebrew Matthew; and since the Gospel of the Hebrews was also confounded with that, it is probable enough that the two titles describe the same work.

* From this title we can easily see how far "according to" in such a connection was from meaning *composed by*.

But that the Gospel of the Hebrews was not the Aramæan original of Matthew is sufficiently proved by Jerome's testimony. There is indeed considerable discrepancy in his statements. In one place he calls it a Matthew-Gospel, but perhaps only from a general resemblance, it may be without having then carefully examined it. In other places he speaks of it by the other name, which he declares usual, "quod appellatur secundum Hebræos," and once adds, that by many it is called the authentic Matthew, "vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum." Afterward all these descriptions of the book occur in a single sentence: "In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsarensi habetur bibliotheca . . . . ." Amid these different opinions, this fact remains fixed, that Jerome thought it worth his while to translate it into Latin and Greek, which he would not have done had it been simply the received Gospel of Matthew. And the citations which are preserved from it in other writers, show it to have been different from our Matthew. Curiously enough, a critical examination of these citations proves that the Greek text which is cited was the original text; and the document translated by Jerome, if we may trust the critics' remarks upon certain verbal peculiarities, appears to have been an Aramæan translation from the Greek.

All the authorities, then, conspire to show that there was a Gospel used by preference among the Christians of Palestine which is not extant, that there were uncanonical Gospels under other names which were extremely similar to it, and that they all resembled our Matthew so nearly that they were sometimes taken for it. All this, viewed in connection with the Papian testimony, and with the composite and derivative character of the extant Gospel, favors, as we maintain, the supposition that all these books, our Matthew among them, were based on some common authority, rather than the supposition that all the others were derived from our Matthew. Matthew was not the only, and probably not the last, result of the sphering of the cloud of early testimony. But it was one of the results, became a fixed body, and

was perhaps central to the whole. Other parts of the nebula whirled off into uncanonical satellites, or congregated in Luke and Mark. Before the testimony became firm land in the canonical histories, there was something indeterminate and mobile in it. It was fluctuating, moving, — historical, however, and not mythical, — and when it precipitated itself, it had not the perfect purity and uniformity which it had in the clear skies of the first belief; it carried motes and dust and smoke with it, some fancies, some misinterpretations, some confusions, and possibly some myths, and thus produced that checkered evidence which we now have, which leaves room for uncertain hypotheses, and has occasioned large disputes, but the practical and total bearing of which no one but a theorist has ever doubted. We accept the fact, and leave the dogmatical assertors of orthodox doctrine to construct the scheme after which the great Providence ought, *a priori*, to be presumed to act. We pretend to no capacity for such speculation, but are content to take the fact as it is. We believe that all things form the parts of a right whole, and that this precise evidence in this precise form is that which is most consistent with the order of the world and with our own salvation.

Look at the matter a little in the large. A religion, to be preserved and transmitted in the world, must be either ecclesiastical, mysterial, or documentary; that is to say, it must be handed down by a hierarchy, by close fraternities, or by a written instrument.

The doctrine of a hierarchy we reject, because our Church was not so founded, and because a priesthood is not agreeable to its genius. Close fraternities, such as the Essenes, the monkish orders, the Moravian brethren, Shakers, we think cannot be the depositaries of the principles of a universal religion, and neither so was our religion founded. There remains only that our religion be documentary.

But a document will be different according as the religion itself to be transmitted by it is different. And the religion itself, we will say, may be dogmatic, ceremonial, preceptive, or ideal. If it be *dogmatic*, indeed, the document must be perfect, as the advocates of plenary inspiration maintain that the New Testament is. That is to

say, it must be accurate as to fact, precise in statement, and complete. This is perfectly obvious. If the religion, again, be *ceremonial*, the document will be a subordinate thing, and may be a mere archive of the church government, since the substance of the religion will be sustained by an order of men appointed to the ritual. Once more, if the religion be *preceptive*, consisting in rules prescribing certain modes of living, methodism, the document must be in all its practical parts precise and absolute, and the understanding of it will naturally become esoteric by the separation of its punctilious observers. A merely preceptive religion would have for its document a code. But if a religion be, as Christianity, in our judgment, is, *ideal*, that is, if it consist in certain ideas, which result in a certain spirit, the ideas being ideas of God, as all great ideas must be, and the spirit being a spirit of love and life at once, not a fixed rule, but a living principle, and if all that is preceptive, or dogmatic, or ceremonial in the religion be external, non-essential, subordinate, conditioned by the ideas, and only a necessary form of the spirit, then the document need neither be exact, nor consistent, nor complete, nor pure. There may be errors, there may be deficiencies, there may be foreign admixtures. Only two things are necessary, that it be intelligible, and that it express the ideas.

But ideas, which are correlatives of God in the conscious soul, cannot, like mere notions, be adequately or intelligibly expressed in propositions. Their natural vehicle is a life in conformity with them. For a man does not in his discourse convey what lies deepest in his soul; only by his living, on which his discourse is the commentary, does he succeed in bestowing on others the idea which is greatest to himself. Christianity, therefore, is communicated in a person. And the life of that person, since it is to be the organ of a religion, and not itself the idol, is exhibited to us surrounded with a glorious cloud. The document is of just such a nature as fits it to impart to us Christ's ideas of God, of duty, of life, and infect us with his vigorous spirit, but to repel logicians, and balk curious antiquaries, and frustrate dogmatists, and even discourage esoteric interpretations and mysterial observances; and thus the very imperfections of the document, which would seem at first sight to detract

from the dignity and power of the religion, are the effectual means by which the purity of the religion is maintained.

G. F. S.

Art. II. — CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.*

On the nineteenth day of January, 1778, three quarters of a century since, Captain Cook, with the ships Discovery and Resolution, came in sight of Niihau and Kauai, the most western islands of the Hawaiian group. The subsequent period, which has been so fruitful in events to the great nations of Europe and America, has witnessed in that little kingdom, so widely separated from the rest of the world, revolutions more surprising, and, to those who experienced them, more important. And now that the Pacific Ocean is becoming continually more and more the highway of commerce, questions with regard to the present condition and future fate of the Sandwich Islands assume an increasing interest in the view of civilized nations, and especially of our own.

We will not ask the attention of our readers to details of the early history of the group, — of the supposed visits of Europeans before the time of Cook, — of the hospitality shown toward that discoverer, the superstitious reverence he inspired, the errors which have been remarked upon in his course toward the natives, and the sad story of his death. Nor need we narrate at length,

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* 1. *History of the Sandwich Islands.* By Sheldon Dibble. Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary. 1843. 12mo. pp. 464.

2. *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.* By James Jackson Jarves. Boston. 1843. 8vo.

3. *Forty-third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.* Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1852. 8vo. pp. 220.

4. *The Sandwich Islands as they are, not as they should be.* By Mrs. E. M. Wills Parker. San Francisco: Burgess, Gilbert, & Still. 1852. 12mo. pp. 18.

5. *The Pacific, a Weekly Journal, devoted to Religion, Education, and Useful Intelligence.* San Francisco. Numbers for March 26th and Oct. 29th, 1852.

6. *The National Era.* Washington. Number for August 5th, 1852.

7. *The Daily Evening Traveller.* Boston. Nov. 12th, 1852.

how, in subsequent years, the islanders became gradually acquainted, through the visits of various navigators, with some of the customs of civilized life; and how, at the same time, an able chief was extending his sway over the various islands of the group, and thus laying the foundation of a firm and peaceful government for his successor.

This great chief, Kamehameha I., died in 1819. The islands in the later years of his reign exhibited a singular union of civilized and barbarous customs. In 1810, the number of whites on Oahu alone amounted to sixty, some of them sober and industrious, but the greater part idle and dissipated. Houses had been built for the king in the European manner, though he still preferred the native hut. The whites in his employment lived after the ways of their own countries, but the chief, whose rude genius compelled their respect and used their knowledge for his own purposes, condescended not to the innovations of plate, knife, and fork. He has been called, in high-flown phrase, "the Napoleon of the Pacific." It would be more suitable to compare him to Peter the Great; and if the Russian governed the larger empire, the Hawaiian had more rule over his own spirit, and appears, notwithstanding his idolatry, to have been a better and a happier man.

Kamehameha had acquired no small amount of wealth, and possessed several armed vessels. He had two wives with the rank of queen, Kaahumanu and Keopuolani, both of whom survived him. The latter was the mother of his successor, and of the prince who now fills that precarious throne.

An attempt was made by some American visitor, about 1803, to convert Kamehameha to the Christian faith. After listening to the arguments, he replied, "By faith in your God, you say any thing can be accomplished, and the Christian will be preserved from all harm. If so, cast yourself down from yonder precipice, and if you are preserved, I will believe."

The intelligent mind of this chief, however, could not but be struck with the fact of the renunciation of idolatry by the Tahiti or Society Islands; and the now numerous visits made to Hawaii by the shipping of civilized nations impressed the people with respect for Christians, and an increasing disregard, which yet none dared to ex-

press, for their own absurd and oppressive system of idolatry. By Kamehameha, in his later years, superstition was cherished probably as a mere engine of state.

The king died on the 8th of May, 1819. During his last illness, his priest suggested to him that human sacrifices should be offered, in order to obtain from the gods his restoration. This suggestion becoming known, it occasioned a very sudden scattering of the natives, who had come, like the beasts in the old fable, to inquire after the state of the sick lion, and who feared that, like those beasts, they might rue his remaining strength. Kamehameha, however, declined the pious proposal. He said, "The men are sacred for the king," meaning, for the service of his successor.

"A certain religiously disposed individual, who had a bird-god, suggested to the king that through his influence his sickness might be removed"; and his Majesty consented to try the experiment. He was brought into the presence of the feathered divinity, but to no purpose. Thence he was carried, in a nearly dying state, first to one straw-built hut, and then to another. At last a chief thus addressed him: "Here we all are, your younger brethren, your son Liholiho, and your foreigner; impart to us your dying charge, that Liholiho and Kaahumanu may hear." The dying man heard but indistinctly, and the question was repeated. He replied, "Move on in my good way, and ——"; here his voice failed him. The foreigner, Young, embraced and kissed him; one of the chiefs also embraced him. He soon after died.

In grotesque contrast to this affecting scene was the suggestion made by a chief, respecting the disposal of the body. A consultation being held, one spoke thus: "This is my thought; we will eat him raw." But this mode of performing royal obsequies was not in accordance with the general feeling, and the proposal was overruled by the queen, Kaahumanu.

The death of the old king was quickly followed by the downfall of idolatry. The national superstition had in it one element which wrought the ruin of the whole. This was the *tabu*, or prohibitive system, surpassing in strictness and in absurdity even that mythical code, the Connecticut Blue Laws. The term *tabu* (or *kapu*, according to the present Hawaiian orthography) has the

meaning of *sacred*, not as implying any moral quality, but as set apart from common uses for some special reason. To declare any thing *tabu*, was to forbid access to it, under penalty both of temporal punishment and divine vengeance. Not only were particular articles of property liable to be tabued, but custom or the will of a chief imposed, under this name, seasons of universal gloom throughout whole districts. "During a season of strict tabu," we are told, "not a fire or light was to be seen, or a canoe launched; none bathed; the mouths of dogs were tied up, and fowls put under calabashes or enveloped in cloth; for no noise of man or animal must be heard. No persons, excepting those who officiated at the temples, were allowed to leave the shelter of their roofs. Were but one of these rules broken, the tabu would fail and the gods be displeased."

This system had become more galling in its ridiculous tyranny with the increasing intelligence of the people. The death of Kamehameha presenting an occasion for national mourning, custom required the imposition of a strict tabu. But the strong hand which had upheld that custom was now cold. On the very day of the king's death, a woman broke the tabu by eating a cocoa-nut, and some families displayed their contempt for the superstition by the males and females eating together. The people saw that no divine vengeance followed these daring acts. The two widows of the royal polygamist desired the abolition of the tabu system. But the young king, Liholiho, hesitated. Then it was that his mother, Keopuolani, took a decided part. She sent a messenger to summon her younger son, the present king, then but a child, to come and eat with her and break the tabu. The king, hearing the message, went to witness the act, and see if any harm should follow. None followed, of course; and soon after, Liholiho himself, at a public banquet, made for the purpose, set the example of renouncing this absurd bondage, a renunciation which implied the abandonment of idolatry, and which was immediately followed by the desecration of the heiaus or temples. The change was acceptable to the majority of the people. It was not made, however, without resistance. An insurrection took place, but victory rested with the partisans of Liholiho.

The islanders were now without a religion; and had they thus remained, a state of things would probably have arisen, to which even the former superstition, as moderated by the wisdom of Kamehameha, had been preferable;— Liholiho was abandoned to almost constant intoxication; his step-mother and general controller, Kaahumanu, also addicted to intemperance, haughty and cruel; and the people just released from the restraints of a venerated, wise, and firm sovereign, and of the only religion that they knew. But relief was at hand. Before the king and chiefs had dispersed after the battle which sealed the fate of idolatry, the vessel which bore the first missionaries from America entered the harbor of Kailua, near the field of the engagement.

It is often interesting to observe how transactions which have no connection with each other in any human purpose,— transactions going on in regions far remote, — still tend toward the same result, and a result which neither could accomplish without the other. Different and distant causes are preparing the hour and the man; but when the hour has struck, the man appears. The spring that reflects the setting sun on the side of the Alleghany, is destined to mingle its waters with those that gush from the far distant mountains of the West; thus events more widely separated blend in the mysterious plans of Providence.

It was natural that vessels from civilized nations, touching at the Sandwich Islands, should occasionally receive some of the more intelligent and enterprising of the native youth as sailors. It was not wonderful that a Sandwich Island boy, far from his home, should be seen weeping. But shall we say it *chanced* that Obookiah, the Sandwich Island sailor-boy, sat in his loneliness weeping on the steps of Yale College, the very place in all America, if not in all the world, where existed in happiest combination the power, the will, the mind, the heart, to aid, not him alone, but the benighted thousands of his countrymen? Obookiah, thus engaged with his own sad thoughts, was seen by Mr. E. W. Dwight, and was received by him as a pupil. Soon after, he attracted the notice of one whose name is inseparable from the history of American philanthropy, Samuel J. Mills,— the man who a few years after found his grave in that

ocean, whose waves, like his own benevolence, touched alike the continent of Africa and the islands of the Pacific.

Mills conceived at once the idea of a mission to the Sandwich Islands. Other Hawaiian youths were found, and, together with Obookiah, were educated with a view to their acting as interpreters or assistants in the mission. Obookiah died before his preparation was completed, and the characters of the rest disappointed, in a great degree, the expectations formed of them. But the first impulse had been given, and some facility for intercourse with the natives attained.

The interview of Obookiah with Mr. Dwight occurred about 1809. It was not till 1820 that the first corps of missionaries, accompanied by four partially educated natives, landed at Kailua, on the western side of the island of Hawaii. With astonishment and gratitude, scarce less than if a visible miracle had been wrought to encourage and to aid them, they received the news from those whom they first encountered. "Liholiho is king; the islands are at peace; the tabu system is no more; the idols are destroyed, and the temples are demolished."

The introduction of the missionaries to the chiefs was singular. One of the natives they had brought with them ran before, and inquired if the house where the king and chiefs were assembled was *tabu* or prohibited. Being answered that it was not, he entered with the missionaries, and addressed the chiefs thus: "These persons are the priests of the Most High God, the maker of heaven and of earth." The people, astonished at his boldness, exclaimed, "Maoi!" (Impudence!) and by that name he was known ever after.

It was not without some hesitation that the chiefs consented to the reception of the missionaries. They deliberated several days upon the subject. Most of the foreigners who resided with them gave, from selfish motives, the advice to send back the Christian teachers. A doubt also arose, from the promise of Vancouver, twenty-six years before, that he would endeavor to send them an instructor from England. But the venerable John Young, who, at first a captive sailor among them, had risen to influence from his faithful services, and who had

been commended to their regard by Vancouver himself, set aside this objection. "Missionaries from America," he said, "are the same as missionaries from England; they worship the same God, and teach the same religion."

In reading the accounts, of which we have here presented a brief summary, we have been struck with the resemblance of the incidents related to the well-known circumstances attending the conversion of our Saxon ancestors. The lonely Obookiah, weeping in a foreign land, was an instrument of the same Providence, that, twelve hundred years before, had caused the heart of good Pope Gregory to warm towards the youthful Angli in the Roman slave-market. In England in 596, as in Hawaii in 1820, the old superstition was outgrown; and the new religion, ere it was formally presented, had become the object of distant reverence, as the faith of more civilized and more powerful states. In England, as in Hawaii, the priests themselves led the way in the desecration of their idol altars, that a purer worship might be established.

Through toil and difficulty, the heralds of the cross in the Pacific islands won, by degrees, their way. Often were they checked by unexpected obstacles, often cheered by wonderful success. Then, again, they had to find at times that success delusive, and that it was quite a different thing for a heathen to declare himself converted, from what it was to understand the precepts, enter into the spirit, and conform his life to the requirements of the Divine law.

The king, Liholiho, or Kamehameha II., did not long live to witness the improvement of his people. In that improvement he shared to some degree; but the vice of intemperance had already undermined his constitution, and prepared for him an early death. He paid external respect to the missionaries, and received without resentment their remonstrances against his vices. Once, after a conversation on this subject, he made the promise, "Five years more, and then I will become a good man." In a much shorter space, his opportunities in life were over. The sentence is still repeated among his people, as a warning of the danger of delay.

Liholiho at length formed the design of visiting Eng-

land. Curiosity with regard to the great world of civilization, so new even by report to the inhabitants of those islands in the centre of the Pacific, prompted him to undertake that distant voyage with a considerable train. His favorite wife, as she left the shore, broke forth into a touching and poetical farewell. "O heavens, earth, mountains, ocean, guardians, subjects! love to you all. O land for which my father bled! receive the assurance of my earnest love." The last words of Liholiho to his people were injunctions to be attentive to the instructions of the missionaries. The wailings of the people followed his departure; but a deeper wailing awaited his return.

That return was as a lifeless corpse. He had been but a few weeks in England, where he was received with kindness and distinction, when himself and his queen were attacked with sickness, to which they both fell victims. Their remains were restored to their native land by the British frigate Blonde, under the command of Lord Byron, cousin of the illustrious and unhappy poet, and his successor in the title. Lord Byron's wise and friendly counsels confirmed the islanders in the course of improvement they had commenced, and the sovereignty devolved peacefully upon the brother of Liholiho, who still holds it, under the title of Kamehameha III.

The departure of Liholiho for England had been rather favorable than otherwise to the efforts of the missionaries. The authority of the king, expressed in his parting words, was with them; and it was no longer neutralized by the weakness of his personal character. On the contrary, the strong-minded Kaahumanu, his father's widow, who had shared the government with her husband and her step-son, was now left to administer it alone; and she threw all her influence into the scale of Christianity. It was beautiful, we are told, the change wrought by the Gospel in a character thus far darkened by many evil passions. Hitherto haughty and imperious, she now united gentleness with the resolution that was necessary to control her still half-savage subjects. Her example and her authority were employed to establish Christianity as the acknowledged religion of the people; and they aided in the less easy task of acquiring for it an influence over their hearts and lives.

We may not linger on the successive steps of advancing civilization; and of the occurrences which were unfavorable to it we shall notice two alone, the conduct of the French commander Laplace, with the causes which led to it, and the temporary occupation of the islands by Lord George Paulet, in the name of the Queen of England.

Some French Catholic missionaries arrived at the islands. The questions are of comparatively little importance, by whom they were introduced, and whether their own conduct in declaring their character and purposes was altogether fair and open. They were there, and they began to instruct the natives in the doctrines of their Church. To this the government of the islands placed itself in decided opposition. Some of those who resorted to the priests for instruction were punished; and the priests themselves, after being several times warned to leave the country, were finally ordered on board a vessel, engaged by the government for that purpose, and were conveyed to the Mexican settlements in California. From that country they returned, and, having landed at the islands, were compelled to reëmbark; but an arrangement was finally made for their permission to remain temporarily, through the interference of English and French commanders. The persecution of native converts to Romanism, which consisted in confinement by binding, and in hard and degrading labor, was at length terminated, upon the strong remonstrances of the American missionaries, who had previously, in particular instances, interceded with success. The American missionaries did not, however, interfere to prevent the sending away of the Catholic priests. On the contrary, some of them, when consulted, expressed the opinion, that the government had a right to send them away, as persons dangerous to the best interests of the nation.

The expression of this opinion, and the absence of that energetic appeal on the part of the missionaries which ought at once to have put a stop to these despotic proceedings, may be palliated by various considerations drawn from the condition of the islands, — the necessity of union among the people, and the fact that the Catholic priests found a protector at first in a chief who was disaffected to the regular government and disorderly in his

conduct. It is, besides, literally true, that all civilized nations claim and exercise the right of keeping from their shores persons whose presence with them would be dangerous to the public good, and that of this danger each government is judge for itself. The native rulers needed no special prompting to induce them to the course they pursued. Kaahumanu, under whom the persecution began, answered a missionary who remonstrated with her in a way which showed her little disposed to yield any right of sovereignty; and, when questioned as to the law under which she acted, referred to that which prohibited the worship of idols. To her mind, the Catholic use of images recalled the memory of the old idolatry, while the fasts of that Church might remind her of the native *tabu* system. And yet, with all these extenuations admitted to their full weight, with all honor to the missionaries for the wisdom, the integrity, and the noble spirit of self-sacrifice which they so often exhibited, and for the inestimable blessings they conferred upon the islanders, we cannot question that they ought, from the very first, to have used with energy the overwhelming influence they could have exerted, to prevent the infant Christianity of the nation from being marked with the stain of intolerance.

About a month after the punishment of native Romanists had been discontinued by the government, the French frigate L'Artemise, commanded by Captain Laplace, arrived at Honolulu, and compelled, under threats of instant hostilities, the concession of the same privileges to Roman Catholics which were enjoyed by Protestants. Captain Laplace exacted also the formation of a treaty admitting French wines and brandies at a low rate of duty, and required the sum of twenty thousand dollars, as security for the performance of the stipulations. The French commander characterized the missionaries as the authors of those persecutions and insults to France of which he complained; and threatened, in case he should resort to hostilities, to make no distinction between the native population and their American instructors. This inhuman threat, — the extortion of a large sum of money from a feeble state which was struggling forward into civilization, — and, above all, the compulsory introduction of that fatal destroyer, ardent spirit, — subject to grave censure the conduct of the French officer.

These transactions took place in 1839. Four years after, a difference arising between the government and the British Consul led to measures which threatened, and for a time actually subverted, the native government. Lord George Paulet, captain of her Britannic Majesty's ship Carysfort, made such demands upon the government as the king felt himself unable to comply with. He adopted, therefore, the course of throwing himself upon the honor and compassion of the power which it was in vain to resist, and made, under solemn protest, a provisional surrender of his kingdom to the crown of Great Britain. The cession was accepted by Lord George Paulet, and the government, except as regarded the native population, was intrusted to a commission, in which Kamehameha was allowed to be represented.

The English government continued five months and six days. During this period the absence of that strict restraint in which the native chiefs, under the guidance of the missionaries, had held their subjects, threatened to destroy the best fruits of their yet recent civilization, and to pour upon the land a flood of debauchery and licentiousness, transferring the unhappy natives from a state of hopeful progress to a feeble and brutalized existence, like that in which the remnants of our own aborigines still linger in the land they once possessed. But the justice and magnanimity of England had not been appealed to in vain. On the 26th of July, 1843, Rear-Admiral Thomas, of the British service, arrived at Honolulu. Little delay was made by this officer in reversing much of what had been done by Lord George Paulet, whose authority was now superseded by the superior naval rank of the Admiral, and on the 31st of the same month, the independent dominion of the islands was solemnly surrended back to Kamehameha III.

That dominion has now been guaranteed by its formal acknowledgment on the part of England, France, and the United States. Meantime those events have occurred, which have so wonderfully changed already, and are destined still further to change, the aspect of the Pacific Ocean and its shores, — the acquisition of California by the United States, and the discovery of its mineral treasures and those of Australia.

In forming a judgment of the actual condition of the

islands, the rank in civilization which the people have attained, how far this attainment encourages hope for the future, and especially how far the efforts of Christian missionaries there have been really and permanently advantageous, we find it necessary to guard against extreme expectations and narrow views. We meet with accounts from different sources, which are utterly irreconcilable with each other. By the statement of the missionaries, as published in the authenticated documents of the "American Board," we are informed of more than twenty thousand church-members now living in regular standing, being one fourth part of the whole population; of twenty-two stations or churches, one having upwards of five thousand members, one having two thousand, and six upwards of one thousand each; of these churches, not only in a great degree supporting the institutions of religion among themselves, but contributing largely towards a new mission to lands yet in heathenism. An expedition of this character to Micronesia, or the Caroline, Kingsmill, and other islands, sailed from Honolulu the last summer, for which the First Church in that city alone raised nearly two thousand dollars. We hear of schools "in every nook and corner of the islands," to the number of four hundred and thirty Protestant, and a hundred and five Catholic, — of pupils numbering more than fifteen thousand; these schools sustained at a cost of twenty-six thousand dollars a year, three fourths of which are defrayed by the native government. We hear of a school of a higher order for the children of the chiefs, numbering sixty pupils; and of a seminary for more advanced education, and especially for the preparation of ministers, giving its advantages to seventy native young men. We hear of a regularly organized government, with the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons, as in the English constitution; — of laws in process of reduction to a code, and measures adopted to establish land-titles in proper form; — of roads constructed, bridges built; — the custom-house, court and market houses of Honolulu, described as ornamental to the city; — and of a supply of water brought from a distance in iron pipes to that capital.

From this bright picture we turn to another, drawn by less friendly hands. This representation is of a people,

the slaves of superstition, through which they are held in subjection by the missionaries, without experiencing the power of religion to emancipate them from the most degrading vices; — of a half-naked population, eating fish, not only uncooked, but actually alive; — that the money paid into the coffers of the missionaries is entirely from the females, the men being too indolent to earn any thing, and the women gaining money only as the price of shame; — that the king, abandoned to intemperance, is under the control of an ambitious and hypocritical American, — a restraint he loathes, but cannot throw aside; — that the nation is dwindling away before the ravages of vice, and that nothing can save the islands from desolation, and cause civilization and happiness to bloom through their lovely valleys, but — we pause before naming the panacea. It is one which has been tried in our own country. Its efficacy can be seen on the Kentucky side of the fair river which divides that State from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It may be seen in the exhausted lands and decaying mansions of Eastern Virginia, and in that more southern commonwealth, which loves so dearly, and defends so gallantly, the evil that is preying upon its strength. Yes, slavery, we are told, slavery as the consequence of annexation to the United States, is to rescue the Sandwich Islands from the conjoined calamities of depraved manners, diminishing population, and missionary misrule. Such is the doctrine of the pamphlet referred to at the commencement of this article. It was published at San Francisco during the last year, by a lady who spent a month at the islands, whither she had gone with a company strongly suspected of designs against their independence.

Statements from such a source, and leading to such a conclusion, must be received by all candid minds with a large allowance, — partly for the bias of the writer's mind, and partly for her limited opportunities of investigation. There are also misstatements and self-contradictions in the account, obvious enough to prevent it from being received, in regard to any important fact, as reliable authority. Yet from the midst of its extravagance something may be gained, needful to qualify those sanguine fancies of a Christian Eden in the isles of the Pacific, to which, without any intention to deceive on the part of the mis-

sionaries, we might be led by reading only their accounts of the truly wonderful success with which they have been favored. Much has been granted them to do; but had they been Apostles, they could not have raised a degraded heathen people to full Christian civilization in thirty years. They make no such claim. They speak often of the difficulties that still beset their path. They tell us that the natives find it far easier to learn an outward ritual than an inward spirit; and they point us especially to one prolific source of crime,—the continual presence of a foreign population, many of them of the most reckless class, from every maritime country, looking upon the native government with contempt, and ready to use every advantage which their superior intelligence bestows, for the gratification of their own passions by the corruption and ruin of the unfortunate islanders. Still, with all these disadvantages, much has been attained; enough to mark the pages which record the rescue of the Sandwich Islands as among the brightest in the history of modern missions.

We have heard the doubt suggested, whether, if the missionaries were now withdrawn, the population of the islands would not revert to barbarism; and we are told that intelligent men, well acquainted with the facts of the case, differ in the answer which they give to this question. In our view, the inquiry is as superfluous, as it would be to speculate on the condition to which our settlers in California would come, if all communication between them and the rest of the world were henceforth to cease. The missionaries will not be withdrawn. The wise policy of the "American Board" is to encourage their settlement as pastors, as fast as the churches to which they minister assume a self-supporting character. From this policy has arisen, indeed, one of the reproaches against the missionaries,—the charge of speculating in land; as those who contemplated settlement as pastors have, in some instances, purchased farms, by the cultivation of which they might assist their scanty salaries. While thus the American teachers are exchanging their temporary position for a more permanent one, native young men are receiving, in the seminary of Lahaina, a theological education which will enable them eventually to take the place of their present instructors. Under such

circumstances, and if the present government of the islands should continue, we cannot doubt of the advance of Christianity among the people, without regarding the Hawaiians as an exception to the general truth, that the Gospel is adapted to human nature; an exception certainly little warranted by the remarkable success with which its preaching has thus far been attended among them.

But if the government of the islands should be transferred either to the United States or to any other power, a new element of evil augury would enter into the question. The Hawaiians would sink at once to the position of an inferior race. Receiving a rapid increase of population by immigrants of adventurous character, and intellect sharpened by the love of gain, the natives would see their possessions passing into the hands of strangers; the salutary laws of their own adoption, which guard them in some imperfect degree from the contaminations of intemperance and profligacy, would be set aside; the very advances they have made in civilization would be turned against them, their royalty become a laughing-stock, and their nobility be degraded to servile labor. It is a mournful consolation in such a prospect, that the spectacle of their depression would not long be witnessed. The tendency of the native race to extinction, which has of late been somewhat arrested, would return with increased rapidity beneath the influences of political depression, poverty, and vice, and speedily remove the unfortunate "Kanakas" from the face of the earth.

But whether in the hands of their present occupants or in others, the Sandwich Islands are destined to a part of no small importance in the age of general civilization and universal intercourse which is dawning upon the world. The Pacific Ocean is henceforth to be as familiar to the mariner's keel as is the Atlantic. The regions of the hardy whale-fishery in the north, — the newly discovered Australian treasures in the south, — California, Oregon, and the rising South American states upon the east, — China and Japan necessarily opening their jealously guarded ports to the west, — compose the circuit of that great amphitheatre in the centre of which a throne is preparing, on the islands of Hawaii, for the queen city of the world's mightiest ocean. In old time Venice, en-

riched by a share merely in the commerce of India, proudly cast the ring of wedlock into the green bosom of the Adriatic. What shall the nuptials be of that power that weds, in the harbor of Honolulu, the immeasurable Pacific?

We speak not thus to tempt cupidity or national pride. It may be that the growing population of the Islands, and the increasing difficulty attending the exercise of power by the chief of a race regarded as inferior, among thousands of foreigners, may render it necessary for one or more of the great nations of the world to assume the guardianship of Hawaii. But in view of the fears we have suggested for the native population, we are disposed to exclaim, Far hence be that evil day! If such foreign control must take place, may it be a guardianship that shall sustain, instead of removing, the native throne of the islands. With little satisfaction could we as Americans anticipate the loss of Hawaiian independence, when we remember the claim that England might well make to be the guardian, from the discovery by Cook, and the indefinite acknowledgment of subjection made to Vancouver by Kamehameha I. And far be it from our country, whence first the disinterested band of Christian missionaries went forth to raise the savage Hawaiians to the dignity of civilized men, — far be it from us to imitate towards these, the objects of our noblest bounty, the rapacity of a Laplace and a Paulet. Our national influence in the Sandwich Islands has thus far been the influence of justice and benevolence. Ever may it so continue; and if the day shall come, when, not through our ambitious seeking, but by the irresistible course of events in the world's progress, the native rulers of the islands shall themselves invoke the protection of our starry banner, may it wave over them, not in oppression, but in magnanimous friendship, securing the rights of all, — the king to his throne, and the people to their lands, — cherishing, and if possible raising to future greatness, the race that may be regarded intellectually and religiously as our adopted children.

S. G. B.

Art. III. — MEMOIR OF MRS. MARY L. WARE.*

How seldom do we meet with a character that satisfies our idea of what a Christian may be and ought to be! We do not say a perfect character, — for it is in vain to look for perfection among mortals. We speak of a degree of excellence not only conceivable, but attainable, and even obligatory upon the disciples of Jesus.

It is not difficult to find persons distinguished for one or more eminent virtues, but in conjunction with faults equally conspicuous. In one we are struck with an admirable truthfulness, but it is in combination with a deficiency of love; in another, with a delightful freshness and warmth of affection, but separated from firmness and force; in another, with a dutiful energy, untiring and unswerving, but coupled with a gloomy piety and a constrained benevolence.

In characters even of the higher class, we generally find something to be added, or qualified, or taken away, — some meaner ingredient present, or some valuable element wanting, — some defect in measure, or some in proportion, to detract from the entireness of our esteem, and affect us with a sense of disappointment. But if such be a common experience with regard to characters of decided worth, how much more usual is it to meet with individuals, even amongst those most favored by nature and education, — who have been trained under Christian influences, are called to high attainment, and obligated by their profession to a Christian self-culture, — whose level of virtue is so low as to stir no emotion of respect, whose character is so ordinary as to communicate no impulse to improvement, save that which arises from disgust at tameness so insipid and failure so disgraceful!

But now and then we have the high privilege of contemplating a character which we can entirely approve and thoroughly admire. Now and then we are blessed with the view of one who meets our conception of a Christian man or woman. Here and there rises above

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* *Memoir of Mary L. Ware, Wife of Henry Ware, Jr.* By Edward B. Hall. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 434.

the common level one who represents to the world what a human being *can* be and do, by a faithful exertion of natural gifts, a diligent use of the discipline of circumstances, and a faithful improvement of the grace of God. If it were not for such, we might despair of our race. If it were not for them, mankind would gradually lapse into moral decrepitude, not worth an effort to redeem, — irredeemable. If it were not for them, Christianity would seem to be a fiction, and humanity be proved a failure.

But from time to time such characters appear. They brighten the destiny of our race. Hope kindles, faith revives, love rejoices, at their rising. Earth for them looks trustfully to heaven, and heaven for them smiles encouragingly upon earth. They appear amongst ourselves, partakers of the same nature, partners in a common lot. Nothing extraordinary marks their advent. No discoverable peculiarity distinguishes their infancy. They grow up in the same homes, walk in the same paths, join in the same sports, and are nurtured by the same discipline with the rest of us. They are favored with no peculiar advantages. They are exempted from no ordinary difficulties or temptations. They are confined to no station and no class. Under what conditions to expect them we cannot foretell, and where they shall *not* be found we cannot predict. In original endowments, in circumstantial advantages, in helps human and divine, many seem to be their superiors, and many more their equals. But gradually, silently, and almost without observation, they mount above their companions. The sheaves of their brethren begin involuntarily to do obeisance to their sheaf. Virtue after virtue is developed and matured. The character grows continually in depth and elevation. The mind gathers wisdom. The heart is enriched with all pure and generous sympathies, all humane and devout affections. They become objects of esteem, reverence, love, — lights, models, prophets, to the larger or smaller circles in which they move.

In no miraculous way they attain this superiority. By no strange and mysterious path they go upward, but in a way open to all, — by steps which we all might have taken, and which we afterwards wonder that we did not take. What they do, others might do as well as

they. The instruments they use are within the grasp of every one. They obey laws which we also know and which we also might keep. They simply *perform* what most of us *purpose*. They pay those vows which many make. They learn the lessons which are set to all. By no shorter path, no royal road, they ascend the heavenly mount; but step by step, in patient progress, leave the world behind. So far as human sagacity can penetrate, so far as man's philosophy can discover, the whole interpretation of their superiority is comprehended in this single distinction, — they are simply true to duty, loyal to conscience, faithful to Christ, obedient to the will of God. Search history, search your own recollection, search your own experience, search your own heart, ask your reason, question conscience, inquire of the oracles of God, — one voice, one response, one testimony, comes to us from them all: "Because they hungered and thirsted after righteousness, therefore it filled and adorned them; because they were faithful over a few things, therefore they became rulers over many things, — by patient continuance in well-doing they obtained immortal glory and honor."

Such thoughts passed through the mind, as, laying down the book whose title introduces these remarks, we reviewed its simple and truthful delineation of the formation and growth and establishment and still unceasing advance of one of the most thoroughly estimable and admirable of human characters. We rejoice heartily that this instructive and affecting biography has been written. We can have no misgiving as to the healthiness and power of its influence. We are sure that it is destined to a wide and lasting ministry of good. No one can read it without being rebuked for his faults and weaknesses, and quickened in his endeavors after righteousness. Many will have occasion to bless it as an instrument of their moral advancement and their Christian edification.

And yet we are oppressed with a feeling of reluctance as we undertake to notice it. We shrink from its review, scarcely less than did the editor and the family from its publication. The veil which a pure and modest spirit loved to wear we hesitate to lift, even in the hope of aiding and inspiring others by the disclosure of its rare virtues. It is not because we are selfish, and would

keep all to ourselves the precious image of the holy and beautiful life we have intimately known and loved; but because we are profoundly impressed with the sacredness of its inner history, — we dread to seem to violate in the least degree the confidence our departed friends have reposed in us in admitting us into the sacred privacy of their hearts, — we cannot be entirely sure that the earnest aversion they would have felt in their lifetime to the exposure of their private feelings, founded as it was in delicacy, humility, and wisdom, has been wholly removed by death, or that, if they could speak from the world of spirits, they would take off the solemn injunction which, while in the body, they would certainly have laid upon us. Or if all these objections can be removed, there still lies another behind them, in the fear that the portrait we may draw shall not do justice to the original, — that the work of our own which must be put into the picture may in some way mar the harmony, or distort the proportions, or hide the delicate beauties and dilute or disturb the fine spiritual essence, of the character we attempt to portray, and so interfere with its true impression and best influence. But in the present instance, if ever, the sure prospect of great and permanent benefit to the world clearly justified the setting aside of all such feelings, and seemed to demand that the pure, meek, and elevated character of a Christian woman should be lifted out of its retired domestic sphere, and withdrawn from the trust of loving hearts and the confidential records preserved in friendly hands, and "transferred to the printed page and an enduring form."

Her life, so dear and valuable to her friends, is now the property of the world. But it will lose nothing of the sacredness with which it has heretofore been regarded. It will but multiply the number of those who love and admire it. It will but extend the circle of hearts in which it is a revered and cherished image. She has parted with nothing of her modesty or her humility; for she wore them to the last. She lived and died clothed with them round about. She had never a suspicion that others would display to the public eye the virtues which she had cultivated for their own sake, and to please Him that seeth in secret. Though her confidential letters are published, they will be read by all with the same feelings

of delicacy and respect with which they have been treated by the chosen few. To be allowed insight into the depths of a heart so pure, will be esteemed an especial and personal favor; while the inspection of its disinterested motives and holy aspirations and purposes will produce in the breast of every reader that feeling, approaching to reverence, without which no one will consider that he has a right to enjoy so precious a privilege.

It is a singular feature of this Memoir, that it is almost entirely an autobiography, and yet unconsciously written. It is in reality one of the most complete, connected, and satisfactory personal narratives, especially of the interior life, that can be found in the whole circle of biographical literature; and yet it was produced, not only altogether without the slightest design of preparing such a memorial of herself, but totally without any view either to connection or completeness. This peculiarity, while it is an indubitable assurance both of the truthfulness of the story and the perfect modesty of the original, adds immeasurably to its interest and value. Who does not feel how much more affecting and impressive it is, composed of familiar letters, written at different periods, in the unrestraint of personal friendship and with perfect naturalness, than if it had been made up of the impressions and recollections of friends, — friends who, if they had indulged in warm panegyric, might have been suspected of partiality, or who, in the fear of over-coloring, or of being charged with so doing, might have laid upon themselves an oppressive restraint, and fallen short of a just approbation.

We consider it a most fortunate circumstance, on every account, that Mrs. Ware's correspondence was so voluminous, and that her letters were so justly appreciated by those to whom they were addressed as to have been, with few exceptions, carefully preserved. Had such not been the case, we are persuaded her life would never have been written, — that, however desirable it might have appeared that the biography of such an excellent woman should be given to the world, no one would have had the boldness to undertake it; or had the task been attempted and completed, the result would have been far less satisfactory than the precious volume for which she has herself furnished nearly all the mate-

rials. As it is, the duty of the friend selected by the family to prepare the Memoir was the more agreeable, but still somewhat delicate one, of making copious extracts from the letters put into his hands, and so connecting and arranging them, together with a few facts and comments supplied by his own knowledge and impressions, "as to give a fair view of the whole life, or rather of the mind and character that appear in every part of the life."

That such a work could not be performed without considerable labor and discrimination any one can see at a glance. But the labor of *selection* must have been greatly diminished by the character of the letters themselves, and the labor of *arrangement* by the succession of dates. In ordinary cases, where there has been a voluminous correspondence, and that too of a familiar character, the task of expurgation is the most arduous part of an editor's duty. But of Mrs. Ware's letters and notes her biographer says, — and what higher tribute could be given to her sweetness of disposition, dignity, and prudence? —

> "In the several hundred that we have examined, there is nothing that might not appear, so far as any one else is concerned. In such a mass of free epistolary writing, from different countries and to persons of every age, not a single severe stricture, not one unkind allusion or offensive personality, much less any approach to petty gossip, can be found." — p. 4.

If there be any fault noticeable in the book, so far as its preparation is concerned, — for no fault *can* be found with the material, — no one would wish to alter a single sentence from the pen of Mrs. Ware herself, — it is certainly not on the side on which biographers are usually supposed to err. There is no excess of commendation. There are no enthusiastic expressions of admiration, except where the language of other friends is introduced. And we are constrained to say, that we are always refreshed when they are allowed to give utterance to their earnest and sincere affection; for we know that Mrs. Ware deserved, and had from many hearts, the warmest and most grateful love, and their glowing words of endearment and admiration are the natural and most emphatic evidence of the power and loveliness of her spirit. They prove and paint the qualities to which they respond

far better than the most careful and exact description. Thus the very heart of the biography — the truest and most living feeling which Mrs. Ware awakened in those who knew her most intimately and spoke of her with entire unrestraint — beats in such words as these: —

"I have a letter this morning from our *blessed* Mary. . . . . I constantly and ardently pray that God would spare and reward our and *His own* Mary to guide more of us to Him. . . . . I have had various accounts from our incomparable Mary. I feel much anxiety on her account, for which I have been frequently reproved by her, whose higher feelings and better regulated judgment give her such wonderful advantage over me, and so constantly produce in her the tranquil security of inward peace. She is so excellent, and so truly set in the midst of difficulties, that it sometimes appears to me as if she had been graciously lent to us for our guide to that heaven which we *all* pretend to seek. . . . . I feel confident she is the peculiar care of the God she loves and serves; but when she gets to Penrith I shall be almost too happy. Her mind has taken such complete possession of my affections, that I appear to myself a new creature; I have totally changed since I became actually acquainted with her. I may at some future period give you a faint idea of the interest she has excited for every thing that lives and breathes her atmosphere." — *Letters of Mrs. McAdam.*

"Dear, dear Mary! if I could, I would express all I owe to you. You have been an unspeakable, an indescribable blessing. God reward you a thousandfold!" — *Mr. Ware's Note.*

No biography of Mrs. Ware would be perfectly just and lifelike without some such expressions as these.

We would not have it inferred, that we suppose the author of the Memoir does not appreciate the superiority of the character he describes. It is evident that he had the highest respect for its virtues. But the terms in which he speaks of them are generally guarded. His colors are sometimes less warm, and his strokes less free and full, than the subject would admit of. Of course we understand and approve the reasons which influenced him in this particular. He dreaded the very appearance of eulogy with respect to one whose intrinsic merits were as far from requiring, as her truth and modesty would have been from tolerating it. He stood in awe of the pure and meek spirit of his friend, as if he were writing in her own presence. He hardly allowed himself to

speak of her virtues in any stronger terms than would have endured her own inspection.

Such feelings and such a purpose are essentially right. But they may be carried too far. They may lead to over-scrupulousness and timidity. Justice does not require of a biographer that he should depict the exalted character of a friend so as to suit that friend's lowly self-estimate; but that he should give his own true impression with perfect sincerity and freedom. Especially does this rule hold good, when the larger part of a memoir is autobiographic. For as in this portion the character is likely to be underrated, through humility and the severity of a strict self-judgment, there is the better opening in the remainder for the natural glow of a just admiration, and there is the stronger reason for its unreserved manifestation.

Such sentences as the following may show that these remarks are not without foundation: —

"Of the accounts given us by others, beside what we saw and heard of her whole bearing and conversation that winter, *we can use little, lest it should seem like eulogy*, — which we desire to avoid. But should this prevent all freedom of expression? If we *may not speak from our own mind and heart*, may we not from the testimony of those who were near enough to understand the whole, yet with *no relation or interest to mislead them.*" — p. 418.

This is certainly carrying the dread of seeming to eulogize to an unnecessary extreme. Why cast aside nearly all records of the actual and lively impressions produced by Mrs. Ware's "whole bearing and conversation" during the most important period of her life, — not only those of the writer of the Memoir himself, but of other near and dear friends? The sacrifice was greater than the feeling to which it was made deserved, or had any right to demand. The loss every reader feels and regrets. The author himself asks, "Should this" feeling "prevent all freedom of expression?" But he immediately subjoins, as if it had laid him under a restraint, amounting almost to necessity, — "If we may not speak from our own mind and heart —" But why might he *not* have spoken from his own mind and heart? There was no good reason for distrusting the language of either. We cannot be so unjust to himself as to suppose that he had

cause to fear that "relation or interest" would blind his own judgment and lead him to excessive eulogy; neither can we admit that he had good reason for the implied suspicion of his readers, that they would have charged him with interested motives had he given free and simple utterance to what he knew and felt.

Again, we think that there is a degree of diffidence in speaking of the merits of Mrs. Ware's letters, that cannot be accounted for by any thing in the letters themselves. For instance, when about to introduce those written from England, the reader is "*begged to remember that they were all written in the haste of travelling, or the fatigues of watching, and that their literary merit or public appearance was the last thought to occur to the mind of the writer.*" One would be prepared by such deprecatory language for a more than ordinary demand upon his candor and forbearance. But as he reads on, so far from finding any thing to overlook and forgive, he is, unexpectedly, not only satisfied, but delighted. The language is simple and fitly chosen, the style is easy and natural, the thoughts are fresh and weighty, and the emotions sometimes warm and gentle, and sometimes elevated and sublime. Had we space, we would gladly justify our appreciation of these foreign letters by several extracts. But those who have perused them will not require to be reminded of the impressions which we feel confident they have already received. And yet we cannot deny ourselves the privilege of inserting a single one of the letters from Liverpool, not so much to sustain our opinion, as for the gratification of transcribing sentences so beautiful, and gracing our pages with sentiments which we so highly admire.

"*London, May* 6, 1824.

"My dear Ann:—

"It was a great deprivation to me to be unable to write at sea. I hoped to have had a large packet for the many kind friends who aided and blessed my departure, expressing something of the gratitude which overpowered me. I have sometimes feared that you thought me insensible to it all, for I dared not try to utter even a word of what I felt lest I should lose my self-possession entirely, and trouble them more than my thanks would please them. God alone knows how fully I appreciated it all, and when I look back upon the period which elapsed after my father's death until I left you, I know not how to speak my astonishment that

such a one as myself should have been so signally favored. For your Aunt Nancy I can only say her reward must be beyond this world; nothing that I or any one here can do, is adequate to it. Never was a human being so blessed with kind friends, and could I feel that I had been as grateful as I ought to have been, I should be happy. But the entire absorption of every thought in self, during the past winter, is now a subject of much reproach.

"I had time to think of all this during the long days and wakeful nights on the voyage, and I do assure you I took a new view of every thing connected with it. Whether it was the absence of every thing else to interest my mind, or the natural increase of our attachment to all objects when we are going from them, I know not, but there were moments of acute agony, when I thought of the return I had made for the kindness manifested towards me. How often I longed to be for a little time on the little stool in the drawing-room, giving utterance to my spirit! There was so little in the monotony of sea-life to interrupt the train of one's thoughts, that I could not sometimes get rid of an idea which possessed me, and I often woke up, wearied with the continuation of one and the same dream, night after night. But I did enjoy a great deal at sea, there was so much to elevate the mind in the very situation; and the want of confidence which I felt from the first evening in the head of the concern tended most powerfully to raise my thoughts above all second causes, to the One Great Cause and Supporter of all things. Never did I so deeply feel our entire dependence upon the power of God, never did I so fully realize the impotence of human skill, as when I saw it contending with the winds; and yet there was something ennobling in the idea, that human skill had contrived and taught to guide such a vehicle as a ship upon the trackless waste of waters; and while we trace all this power to the original source of it, we cannot but feel that He has given to us a noble nature. Often when the sea was rising in immense waves on every side, and the ship tossed about as though it were but a little shell which the waters would soon overwhelm, have I felt as I never before did the immense value of that religion which was able to calm all fears, and raise the mind to a state even of enjoyment, under such terrific circumstances. What but a firm confidence that, whether we live or die, or whatever event befall us, it is in Infinite Wisdom that it is so, can give this composure? Shall we not then hold fast and cherish such a faith? shall we not seek to understand its nature, and endeavor with our whole hearts to ingraft its principles upon our characters?

"Tell me as much about Mr. Channing and his sermons as you can. I went to chapel on Sunday with Mrs. Kinder, but heard very poor preaching, to very poor houses. But Mr. Chan-

ning told me just what to expect, therefore I was prepared for it. Poor as it was, however, the delight of finding myself once more in a place of public worship overbalanced all, and when I heard the same tunes sung to the same words which I had heard in Federal Street, it was a little more than I could bear firmly. I am charmed with the whole Kinder family; they are too literary to make me feel able to communicate the least pleasure, on account of my ignorance upon all literary subjects, but they are every thing that is kind, and very agreeable, and I find a good lesson for my humility when I am there." — pp. 100 – 102.

In others of the letters from abroad are lively and graphic descriptions of scenes and persons, — in all of them the very finest and noblest sentiments. They are the more delightful for their ease and simplicity, — especially since we discover no indications of negligence, and no want of perspicuity and correctness. Had they been written with a view to "literary merit or public appearance," they would have gained little in the true merits of style, and might have lost somewhat of their charming freshness and graceful freedom. We cannot help contrasting them with many epistles ostensibly directed to friends, but actually aimed at the public; whose *pretensions* to literary merit are obvious enough, and whose "appearance" was evidently the *first* thought to occur to the mind of the writer. How favorably they appear in such a comparison we need not say.

The especial value of Mrs. Ware's biography consists in this, that her life is not only so worthy as to command admiration and to excite the desire of excellence, but the means of its moral growth are so clearly defined, and the steps of its progress so distinctly marked, as to encourage in others endeavors after a like improvement, and to instruct them, plainly, as to the method. There was a remarkable definiteness as well as elevation in her aim of life, almost from the outset. She very early caught the true Christian idea of the purpose of this earthly existence. She heard the call of God in childhood, when it first came clearly to her thoughtful heart, and immediately arose and girded herself for the service of her heavenly Master. Her very first question was, What is the will of Him that sent me here, and what is the work He has given me to do? and as soon as it was distinctly answered, it was her fixed and single determination to do

His will and to finish this work. A friend who could trace her life back to the very earliest period, remarks: "When her character first shone upon me in its higher attributes, I do not know. But I seem to myself to remember, that there never was a time when I could have supposed it possible that she would do any thing that was not exactly right; when I had not perfect confidence in her tact and judgment to discern duty, and the prompt and unhesitating determination to do it, *as the only thing to be done.*" The testimony of the Misses Cushing, under whose instruction at Hingham she enjoyed the best advantages, not only of intellectual, but religious training, is to the same effect. It relates to a little more advanced stage of her development, when, however, she had not reached her sixteenth year: —

"She was remarkable, even then, for her disinterestedness and forgetfulness of self. With the love which we could not but feel for her was mingled a respect and admiration for her high principles, and the piety which shone through all her conduct, in a degree very uncommon for a girl of her age. Her chief object seemed to be to do good, and she considered nothing too difficult to undertake, if it could benefit another. This seemed to be a living principle with her." "She possessed such purity of heart and elevation of principle, as seemed to me then could only arise from a constant sense of the Divine presence, and an habitual communion with the Source of all good." — pp. 17, 25.

A letter written by herself, when only fifteen, to a friend near her own age, clearly shows that the judgment of those who knew her well, as to her feelings and purposes, was correct. "My little trials," she says, "have taught me to value the only true sources of enjoyment this life can afford, — the affection of the good, the cultivation of the better feelings of the soul in the service of the Creator, and the joyful hope of a better, purer state of existence." The sincerity of her religious feelings and the earnestness of her Christian purpose at this period of her life are proved, however, more forcibly than by words. We allude to the important act of confessing allegiance to Christ, and publicly taking upon herself the vows of a disciple by connecting herself with the Church. Though only in her sixteenth year when she decided to take this step, she had given to the subject long and careful consideration, and had so faithfully examined and prepared

herself, that, notwithstanding "a deep sense of unworthiness when she compared herself with what she saw she ought to be," from the moment she made the determination to join with the Church in commemorating the Saviour's death, "not a feeling arose," she said, "which I could wish to suppress; conscious of pure motives, all within was calm. I was never more happy in my life. It was a bright, clear night, and the moon which rose just as I went to bed, shining full upon me, seemed to reflect the tranquillity of my heart, and appeared to me an emblem of the mild light that was just dawning on my soul. I could not sleep, and actually laid awake all night out of pure happiness."

Thus early in life, and thus thoughtfully and devoutly, the foundation of her character was laid. The counsel which long afterwards she gave to her children, she drew from her own youthful experience, while her whole life testified of its virtue.

"Religious principle is the rock upon which alone you can build any superstructure: all other will be like the sand on the sea-shore,— the next tide of temptation will sweep it away. Cultivate in yourself a religious spirit; read God's word to learn what he would have you do; pray to him for power to do it,— and you *will* succeed. *Here lies the only sure foundation.* And do not think it will interfere with any of the pleasures of youth, or restrain the spirit of mirth which belongs to your age. So far from it, it will promote all enjoyment: for when we engage in that which we have decided by the standard of principle to be right, we go forth with a free spirit to enjoy the utmost,— without any of that under-current of misgiving which is a perpetual check upon us when we are engaged in a matter of doubtful expediency. Never fear for the result if you only do *right.*" — p. 397.

In unfolding the principles of her husband's high moral attainment, Mrs. Ware has unconsciously given the true explanation of her own. "He was what he was, not by the bestowment of great natural powers, but by the *religious industry* with which he used his powers, the high standard of moral and religious character at which he aimed, the disinterested devotion with which he labored for others' good. *He cultivated his conscience, and by its light he cultivated his intellect.* This was the secret of his great success. He was willing to do any thing he

could; and he regulated that 'could' by the most unwearied industry. What cannot one do with such a lever?" What indeed? we respond, since by it those two kindred spirits have raised their characters so far above the common level of moral and Christian attainment, — to an elevation so nearly equal, that we have never been able to ascertain that one of them was above the other. And this is a lever within the reach of all. The peculiar value of the biographies both of the husband and the wife consists in the fact, that they not only attest its power, but plainly exemplify and encourage in others its faithful and habitual use.

The views of Mrs. Ware concerning the "sphere and duties of woman," cannot fail of having great weight and exerting a healthful influence. Her own character is one which all of her sex must approve and admire, for it is that of a true woman. She was full of spirit and energy; she was strong, courageous, and truly independent; but she was at the same time discreet, self-denying, gentle, and affectionate. Her feelings were ardent, but under due control. Her impulses were quick and warm, but regulated by principle. She had no lack of enthusiasm, but no deficiency of good sense. Her imagination was lively, but her judgment cool and steady. She had intellect enough to be brilliant, but she preferred to be useful. It was in her power to shine, but it was in her heart to bless. She could never fail to interest and enliven society, but she *would* never fail to order her household well and make her children happy.

It is truly refreshing, at a time when crude and vain notions regarding the position and duties of women — disapproved, no doubt, by all the best of the sex — are broached and circulated by the ambitious and discontented, to record such sentences as the following, from the pen of one, the wisdom of whose sayings is sealed with the beauty of her life.

"No woman can be a true woman, whatever may be her intellectual acquirements or capacity, without that womanly knowledge which will fit her for domestic life, and enable her to fill 'home,' that appointed sphere of most women's duties at some time or other, with all the comforts which alone can make it happy. I do not mean merely the knowledge of the daily routine of outside domestic employments; but the cultivation of

the domestic affections, the habits of concession and self-sacrifice, of delicate attention to the little things which go so far to make up the sum of domestic happiness, and the mechanical facility with respect to a thousand minor matters, — all of which nothing but practice in the atmosphere which calls them into exercise can possibly teach. I will not deny that I think a great deal, too, of education 'in common domestic employments,' as a means of happiness and usefulness. I hold that nothing can compensate for a wilful neglect of what may be made the means of so much comfort to others, as order, cleanliness, and a facility in administering to the human wants of our friends, which is peculiarly woman's province." — pp. 375, 376.

"Of all objects in life there is none more distasteful to me than a *merely* literary woman; no amount of learning is a fair balance, in my mind, for the feminine graces of a true woman's character. It is not merely that she looks better, clean and tidy, or that a careful use of the needle is a preventive of waste in the use of means, — although these are considerations worth weighing. But there are internal graces connected with these external habits; and there is no higher object for a woman's life than the cultivation of those powers which make the comfort of a well-ordered household." — p. 352.

The life of Mrs. Ware was one long and diversified labor of love, — sometimes employed in retired and gentle offices, sometimes in delicate and difficult plans of benevolence, sometimes in bearing heavy burdens, and more than once in enterprises truly heroic. Of the latter character, is her mission of mercy to Osmotherly, an obscure village in Yorkshire, England. The simple story of its affecting events, as told in her own letters, written on the spot, is one of thrilling and even romantic interest. It will give her a place in the history of benevolence by the side of the most disinterested and noble of her sex. It has already been "clothed with the drapery of fiction," but it is far more touching and beautiful as it stands in the volume before us, in the simple coloring of nature and truth.

In June, 1827, she became the wife of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. No position could have been better suited to her capacity and taste, than that of the wife of a minister of a large parish; and no minister could have been more worthy of such love and such assistance as hers, than he who chose her, no less to be a co-helper in the service of the Gospel, than a friend and comforter to himself. For

a little while after their marriage, she was permitted to share with her husband the pleasant and sacred duties of a flourishing parish and the blessed peace of a pastor's fireside. Of that brief period, she always spoke as the most delightful portion of her life. The heart was satisfied with abundant demands upon its sympathy; her active mind found constant exercise, and her powers of usefulness were in ceaseless motion. She could bless as often as she would. To Mr. Ware she was invaluable as an assistant in his professional duties; entering with unfeigned interest and an exquisite tact into all his plans and labors for the good of the parish; often conversing with him on the subjects which occupied his mind and pen, with a discrimination equal to his own, with the vivacity of a warm heart, with a childlike piety and a profound faith. To the end of life she never lost in the slightest degree the keen interest which she then learned to feel in every thing pertaining to ministerial duty.

But this season of perfect sunshine was soon clouded by the serious sickness of her husband. The pleasant Sheafe Street home was broken up. The favored parish was forsaken. The beloved walks of pastoral usefulness were exchanged for other scenes of duty, less congenial, though not perhaps less important. Henceforth, till the death of Mr. Ware, with few and brief intervals, to all her other manifold cares were added constant anxiety on account of his feeble health, and the almost incessant labors of a nurse. How cheerfully she met these reverses, how sweetly and how vigorously she discharged these arduous duties, with what an unclouded serenity of countenance and what a triumphant elasticity of spirit she accompanied her husband in wearisome journeys, and cheered and helped him in weakness and pain, in labors and trials, who that has ever heard their names coupled together needs to be told?

The biography deepens in interest to the last. As life draws to a close, the character, whose steady growth we have traced from the beginning, goes on more and more rapidly to perfection. The course we have seen so faithfully pursued is gloriously finished. When the curtain falls, the spirit we have followed so earnestly through the "good fight" is meekly triumphing. "Henceforth" —

such is the feeling of every one as he closes the Memoir — she wears "a crown of light." She has joined the bright constellation of kindred souls, now shining like stars in the kingdom of God, whose pure and benignant light was kindled at the altar of our own most holy religion, and shed a cheering and hallowing radiance upon our own household of faith. She has gone to her place in that circle of choice spirits of which she was an ornament on earth, and which she found waiting to welcome her to heaven. She has gone to renew her communion with those holy friends with whom she took sweet counsel in works of mercy and hours of worship, and walked in closest intimacy till they ascended to their rest. She has left to us another testimony to the power and beauty of those simple and sublime doctrines upon which her character was built, and by fidelity to which she sought to glorify the Father and the Son. Her memorial — so just, so beautiful, so impressive — shall go abroad on its silent mission of love, by the side of those which commemorate Channing, and Buckminster, and Abbot, and Ware, and Peabody, — the last thrice-favored, whose unfading scroll of purest fame bears also inscribed beneath his own the two sainted names dearest to his heart, — carrying to illiberal minds another sweet appeal on behalf of toleration and charity, and giving to the world another bright evidence that the branch whose fruits are so beneficent cannot but draw its life from the true Vine.

C. R.

ART. IV. — STANZAS.

TO ELSIE.

JUNE, 1852.

A MALADY too dread to name
In one I 've held so dear!
The sharp thrills shooting through thy frame
Are deadly darts, we fear!

Yet do not think thy suffering state
Too different from our own;

The dark seeds of a certain fate
In all our flesh are sown.

Of any two, who dares to say
Which shall the first be gone?
If best, years distant, or to-day,
Who knows of any *one*?

Then cease to guess of times, dear friend,
Or how their lot may fall;
One gracious Hand ordains the end
So doubtful for us all.

Live in that dateless, deathless part,
Which keeps its health and youth;—
The Eternal in man's loving heart
And in God's holy Truth.

N. L. F.

TO ELSIE.

January, 1853.

Dead, dead and gone!
Thou too hast joined the train
Of those I ne'er shall see again;—
The world is growing lone.

They fall how fast!
Mates of my fresher prime,
Associates of my waning time,
The passing and the past.

O "tale that's told"!
How many feebly stay!
How many went but yesterday!
What griefs already old!

New sorrow now!
Fair friend through many a year
Of spirits light and feelings dear,
Thou must desert me,—thou!

And not one word
To mark the closing scene,
After such meetings as have been?
Speak,—or let me be heard.

Come back! Once more
Thy slender hand be set
In mine. One prayer together yet
We 'll breathe, ere all is o'er.

Meek shade, forgive!
I would not have thee back,
Stretched out again on this world's rack:
Go forth, go forth, to live!

N. L. F.

Art. V.—DAVIDSON ON BIBLICAL CRITICISM.*

It is pleasing to observe the increased attention which is given in England to the subject of the textual criticism of the Scriptures; or the science whose object is to discover as nearly as possible the original words of the Bible, as they came from the pens of the sacred writers. In our number for January, 1850, we gave a somewhat extended notice of a large volume by Professor Porter on the subject. We have also just imported, at an expense of six dollars a volume, a critically revised text of the New Testament, accompanied with a commentary by Henry Alford of the Established Church. We are sorry to say that we cannot speak very highly of Mr. Alford's labors. He may be a very good poet;† but he does not appear to us to have a special call to be a critic of the text or an interpreter of the meaning of the New Testament. We mean that his work contains little or nothing valuable, which is not to be found in commentaries already in our hands, and that he has said many things which ought not to be found anywhere. How can we commend a critic, who not infrequently startles us with such assertions as that "in the whole fortieth chapter of Isaiah the incarnate Jehovah is the subject"? Especially does it appear singular to us that a vicar of the English Church should undertake to give what he calls a

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* *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science.* By Samuel Davidson, D. D., LL. D. Vol. I. *The Old Testament.* Vol. II. *The New Testament.* Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 8vo, pp. xv., 446, and xii., 472.

† See Christian Examiner for January, 1850, p. 47.

"provisional text, — the one best suited to the intended use of his edition under present circumstances"; and one "which may be regarded as an experiment how far the public mind in England may be disposed to receive even the first and plainest results of the now advanced state of textual criticism."* In our view, one who professes to be a critic should give us *his own judgment* in respect to every word, or let the text of the New Testament alone. The tendency of such a mode of dealing with the text of the New Testament as Mr. Alford does not hesitate to avow, is to sanction and confirm all errors of much importance; that is, such as interest the public mind.

The work of Dr. Davidson is in two handsome octavo volumes, devoted to the consideration of the various topics connected with the textual criticism of the Scriptures, on a plan similar to that of Professor Porter. The treatise of the latter is so comprehensive, full, and excellent, that it is not easy to perceive the necessity of another work on the same subject. It probably arose from the fact that the authors belong to different Christian denominations; Professor Porter being a Unitarian, and Dr. Davidson a Trinitarian of unsuspected orthodoxy. We cannot, however, but rejoice in the publication of a work so sound in its principles, so rich in its information, and so correct in its opinions, as that of Dr. Davidson; especially as it will be bought and read by many, who very naturally regard every thing proceeding from a Unitarian source with distrust and suspicion, under the influence of the sentiment, *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

In this instance, it is true, there was not the slightest foundation for the charge of sectarian influence in respect to Professor Porter's book, as any one by examination might perceive. But this fact now appears more clearly, from a comparison of it with that of Dr. Davidson. It now appears that neither in their views of the defectiveness of the received text, nor in their statement of the character and authority of the manuscripts, versions, etc. by which it is to be corrected, nor in the principles and rules of criticism which they lay down, nor in the application of them to particular passages of Scripture, does

* Vol. I. Prol. 70.

one writer favor the sect to which he belongs more than the other.

This consideration of the agreement of two learned and able writers, of very different religious opinions, in their views of the subject of which they treat, is alone sufficient to show the desirableness of Dr. Davidson's work. It must increase the confidence of all, especially of those who have not the leisure to examine the foundations on which their opinions rest, in their general correctness.

We do not feel called upon to make a comparison between the two works. Our opinion of Dr. Porter's was expressed in a former number of this journal.* We may say, however, without suspicion of partiality, that his work has the advantage in the highly useful and beautiful fac-similes of portions of ancient Hebrew and Greek manuscripts by which it is accompanied. Of Dr. Davidson's we can say, that he deserves very great credit for extensive research, for the correctness of the principles and rules of criticism which he lays down, for the fulness of his information on all the topics pertaining to the subject up to the latest date, and especially for the independence and candor with which he states the results of his researches in regard to particular texts of Scripture. It is true, that his opinions relating to the few texts which have been supposed to have a bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity have the nearly unanimous support of modern critical scholars of Germany, however different may be their theological views. They are such as must, one would think, command the assent of all who attach the value which Dr. Davidson does to ancient documents in preference to modern, and who are governed by established principles of criticism rather than by traditional biases. But when we recollect what specimens of textual criticism of the New Testament have been exhibited in England by a Travis, a Burgess, a. Henderson, and a Bloomfield, and when we see the University of Oxford still sending forth the old text of Mill, which he himself believed to be corrupt in numberless passages, in type and binding of the highest beauty, as if aiming to atone for a corrupt text by such outward

* For January, 1850.

show, we think a man deserves considerable credit, who has the candor and independence to receive and to publish the truth.

In these remarks we refer chiefly to the judgment which Dr. Davidson has given on the few texts which have been supposed to have a bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity, especially on the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. For in reading κυρίου, *Lord*, instead of θεοῦ, *God*, in Acts xx. 28, and in rejecting 1 John v. 7 as spurious, he has the general support of orthodox critics.

But in regard to 1 Tim. iii. 16 we must say that a good deal of theological prejudice has been manifested in England and this country, and that the prevalent opinion among the orthodox clergy is incorrect. How else can we account for the fact, that in Germany, where this text has been examined by critics rather than theologians, the decision has been so different from what it is in this country and England?

Dr. Davidson, following the great majority of Continental critics, such as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, De Wette, Rosenmueller, Schott, Vater, Heinrichs, Olshausen, Wiesinger, Meyer, and Huther, thinks the reading ὅς, *he who*, much better supported than either θεός, *God*, or ὅ, *which*. We think he has given the fullest, fairest, and most correct statement of the evidence for each reading which we have seen. To it we refer our readers. After carefully adducing and weighing this evidence, he remarks: "In this manner we arrive at the conclusion that ὅς is best supported by the external evidence, in its threefold division of manuscripts, versions, and fathers."

"We come now to *internal* evidence. ὅς is the most difficult reading. It appears harsh and ungrammatical. Hence it would be most readily altered. Again, the origin of the other two can be better explained from it, than its rise from either of them. It is easy to see how prone copyists would be to change ὅς into ὅ in order to make it agree in gender with the antecedent μυστήριον. They knew also that the passage was commonly explained of Christ; and as most manuscripts were in the hands of the orthodox, they might change ΟC into $\overline{\Theta C}$. In this manner it would be a better weapon against such heretics as impugned the proper deity of Christ. Certainly the tendency in earlier times would be to change, by a slight process, ὅς into θεός. Little suspicion would attach to the person or persons who did so, amid the anx-

iety to uphold the divinity of Christ's person. The altered reading would be generally welcome and adopted. And, improbable as we naturally reckon it to be, that mention should have been made of ὅς being changed into θεός, since the writings of those likely to speak of it are so few, yet mention *is* made of it in the case of Macedonius. Whatever truth there be in that account, one thing at least is certain, that some persons about or soon after the time of Macedonius regarded the reading ὅς as the original, out of which arose θεός.

"On the other hand, had θεός been early changed into ὅς, we should most probably have heard of it in history. The orthodox must have noticed the alteration, and would doubtless have reprobated it. They would at once have detected and exposed it, as a corruption of the text made to impugn a great doctrine for which they contended so strenuously. Yet we do not read in any ancient writer of the text having been corrupted from θεός into ὅς. Hence it may be inferred that it was *not* so changed. The origin of ὅς is not accounted for by the fathers in that way, — a way in which it was most natural for them to explain it had they not felt that it was the true reading.

"If it be said that ὅς may have arisen by accident or the carelessness of transcribers from θεός, we answer, that even then it would soon have been noticed and restored. An *accidental* alteration would soon have been converted by the fathers into a *designed* one on the part of heretics, had ὅς become as extensively diffused as we judge from A. and C. that it really was." — Vol. II. p. 398 et seq.

We entirely agree with Dr. Davidson in regard to the true reading of this verse. We have observed, however, one or two inadvertences in his statement of the evidence, the correction of which would strengthen his conclusion. One relates to a passage in a document which goes under the name of the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria to Paul of Samosata, and which has been supposed to favor the reading θεός. Dr. Davidson has not adverted to the fact, that this letter has, by the almost unanimous consent of critics, such as Neander, Gieseler, Montfaucon, Basnage, Dupin, and Lardner, been pronounced to be spurious, and of a much later date than the time of Dionysius of Alexandria. Another inadvertence is Dr. Davidson's omission to give the reading of the Philoxenian Syriac version in the passage under consideration. He mentions the marginal reading as denoting ὅς, but does not state the reading of the text itself. He should have stated that it was the translation of either ὅς or ὅ.

It may also be observed, that the evidence of the ancient versions against the reading θεός, though it may be gathered from the facts stated by Dr. Davidson, is not represented by him with so much force and prominence as it might be. The circumstance, that, although, on account of the ambiguous gender of the Oriental relative pronoun, it is uncertain whether it is a translation of ὅς or ὅ in this passage, all the versions in all parts of the world up to the ninth century unite their testimony against θεός, is to our minds of very great weight. The united testimony of *all* the versions appears to us to have a cumulative weight beyond what attaches to each one of them separately. When we consider that neither in the African, the Syrian, the Roman, or the Gothic Church was any version found containing the reading θεός, and that the Coptic, the Sahidic, the Old Italic, the Vulgate, the Peshito Syriac, the Philoxenian Syriac, the Armenian, the Erpenian Arabic, the Ethiopic, and the Gothic versions, most of them older than any Greek manuscript extant, all read either ὅς, *who*, or ὅ, *which*, and not θεός, *God*, and when we take into view the testimony of the most ancient Greek manuscripts, as stated by Dr. Davidson, we are surprised that any critic can maintain the genuineness of the reading of the received text. It is inconceivable that *all* the versions should have been at variance with the Greek manuscripts of their age in a verse of so much importance.

In regard to the choice between the readings ὅς, *who*, and ὅ, *which*, there is more room for doubt. Some critics of great distinction have decided for the reading ὅ. But we believe that, relying on the statements of others, they have so decided under a misapprehension in regard to the evidence of the ancient versions.* We believe that the only certain testimony in favor of the reading ὅ is a single Greek manuscript, a valuable one, it is true, the Clermont, of the sixth century. We believe that the only additional *probable* testimony in its favor from the versions is that of the Old Italic and Vulgate. We know that we advance a novel and bold opinion in regarding the testimony of the Old Italic and Vulgate as *uncertain* testimony in favor of the reading ὅ; but to express what we think will hurt

* See Christian Examiner for January, 1850, p. 35 et seq.

nobody. Learned critics can easily set us right, if we are wrong. We ask, then, where is the improbability, on the supposition that the Latin translators read μυστήριον, ὃς ἐφανερώθη in their Greek manuscripts, that they should have translated those words "mysterium *quod* manifestatum est," instead of "*qui* manifestatus est," for the sake of the concord in gender? We confess that we are unable to see the improbability, especially as we know that Jerome and all the Latin fathers understood Christ personally to be denoted by "mysterium quod." There was no reason, therefore, why they should violate the Latin concord. There is also another fact bearing on the case; namely, that Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, having in his comment on Isaiah liii. 11 occasion to quote a part of the verse without the Latin antecedent *mysterium*, quotes it as if the Greek manuscript, to which he was accustomed, read ὃς, viz. "*qui manifestatus est.*" If, however, in deference to the unanimous voice of critics, we admit that the Old Italic and Vulgate favor the reading ὅ, we yet maintain that this reading, having only a single manuscript in its favor, and being easily accounted for by the supposition that the ς was dropped from the relative by some over-nice grammatical copyist, as was probably the case in several other instances, such as John vi. 9, Rev. xiii. 14, Col. i. 27, is a very improbable one. The reading ὃς, adopted by Dr. Davidson, in accordance with Griesbach, seems to us far preferable both on external and internal grounds. We believe, also, that the meaning of the verse, as given by Dr. Davidson, is more correct than that which has sometimes been adopted by those who, with him, decide for the reading ὃς. It is as follows: —

"It has been objected to the reading ὃς, that it does not accord with the laws of grammatical construction. This has been often asserted, but never proved. It is not necessary to refer ὃς to μυστήριον as its simple and sole antecedent. Neither is it necessary to refer it to θεοῦ ζῶντος with a parenthesis between. We do not adopt either of these constructions; and therefore all considerations based on them, and tending to show that ὃς is neither good sense nor good Greek, may be left for those whom they concern.

"We are disposed to understand ὃς in the sense of *he who*. To this construction, too, a common objection has been made, that

it is foreign to the Greek idiom, both classical and Hellenistic. It is said, for example, that the regular Greek construction would require ὁ φανερωθείς. The participle, with the article prefixed, is affirmed to be proper, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, i. 23, ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. λ., *he that persecuted us.* In opposition to this argumentation, we hold that ὅς, in the sense of *he who* is good Greek. It includes in itself both the demonstrative and relative. But it has been said, that where there is such a usage of ὅς as that before us, in the nominative, it is not used in the sense of *he who*, but *whosoever*, i. e. it is not employed *particularly* or *specifically*, but *generically*. It must be equivalent to ὃς ἐάν or ὃς ἄν. In answer to this, we believe that the usage of ὅς in this way may be rendered sufficiently specific by the preceding context. So John iii. 34, Luke vii. 43, and other places. We cannot see, therefore, any valid objection to the rendering *he who*. It is good Greek, good sense, and has no internal consideration against it. But it should be remarked, that we do not take the clauses *was justified in the Spirit*, &c., &c., as making up the predicate of the proposition of which ὅς [ἐφανερώθη] is the subject; but *all* the clauses, including ὃς ἐφανερώθη, as an explanatory and emphatic adjunct to the *mystery of godliness*. It is intended to point out *in what* the mystery of godliness consists, showing that it is concentrated and embodied in THE PERSON WHO *was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.* The proper antecedent or subject to which ὃς ἐφανερώθη refers, is *implied* in μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας preceding."

If it still be urged, that there is something unusual in the omission of the express name *Jesus Christ* before ὅς, it may tend to remove even this difficulty, to recollect what has been suggested by several critics, that the well-balanced couplets of which the verse is composed were probably a quotation from a primitive Christian hymn or creed. In modern printing it might be represented thus: *And without contradiction great is the mystery of godliness,*

> "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit;
> Beheld by angels, preached among the Gentiles;
> Believed on in the world, received up in glory."

Mack, as cited by Wiesinger *ad locum*, observes: —

"The short, unconnected sentences, in which the words are similarly arranged, and the number of syllables almost equal, while the ideas are antithetically related, are so suitable to religious hymns, that we find all these characteristics in a series of

later hymns used by the Greek and Latin Church. When we look particularly at the separate clauses in which is represented the mysterious excellence of him who is the essential import of this great mystery, it will be evident, as others have already noticed, that they form parallel clauses, of which every two are a connected pair, and form an antithesis turning upon the opposition of heaven to earth, and so placed as that the order of the antithesis is reversed, in each new pair of clauses: — flesh and spirit, — angels and nations, — world and heavenly glory. It will also at once be perceived that there is a correspondence between the first and the last clause, — was manifested in the flesh, — was received up into glory."

In concluding our article, we cannot help adverting to the testimony which is borne to the unrivalled fidelity, sagacity, and good judgment of Griesbach by all subsequent investigations. Some new manuscripts have been discovered, and others have been more fully and accurately collated since his time. His theory of recensions has been shown to be artificial, and in great measure unfounded. Yet such was his practical sagacity and judgment, that most of the important emendations of the received text introduced into his edition of the New Testament have been amply confirmed by the great majority of the most distinguished New Testament critics, up to the present day. As a critical editor he far surpasses all succeeding critics. And though his text is undoubtedly susceptible of amendment in some passages, particularly in the pointing, yet if one wishes to possess but one edition of the Greek Testament without a critical apparatus accompanying it, we should hesitate a good deal before giving any other edition the preference to his, even at the present day.

G. R. N.

ART. VI.—DE QUINCEY'S WRITINGS.*

THESE volumes have both a relative and an intrinsic interest;—the former as specimens of the periodical literature of the age,—in its most vigorous and brilliant days of British journalism,—now first brought together and recognized in their complete significance on this side of the water; and the latter on account of the individuality of their tone, the scope of their reasoning, and the variety and grace of their style. Papers like these, written for Blackwood and the London Magazine, indicate the kind of demand that prevailed in the literary market, not less than the nature of the supply; the sympathy with genius, the love of analysis, the reform enterprises of the day, the poetical schools, the influx of German literature, the social character of popular writing, and the vast improvement both in style and depth of thinking even in the most casual forms of the art,—all are manifested by these remarkable papers. Considered as the offspring of a single mind, they are no inadequate indication also of the breadth and versatility of culture open to the man of letters in our time;—of the complex mental excitement and great resources which naturally fall to his lot, and are realized according to his capacity. How much intellectual life, inspiration, and enjoyment is suggested by the historical events, the studies, the books, and the men and women herein either described or criticized! Indeed, De Quincey's writings are not less an æsthetic daguerreotype of the times than a revelation of himself.

He has that rare combination of insight and sensibility which yields a vital charm to any topic discussed with

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* *The Writings of* THOMAS DE QUINCEY. In Twelve Volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1850-53. 16mo.

1. *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, and Suspiria de Profundis.* pp. 272.
2. *Biographical Essays.* pp. 284.
3. *Miscellaneous Essays.* pp. 250.
4. *The Cæsars.* pp. 295.
5. *Life and Manners.* pp. 347.
6. *Literary Reminiscences; from the Autobiography of an English Opium-Eater.* 2 vols. pp. 366, 337.
7. *Narrative and Miscellaneous Papers.* 2 vols. pp. 280, 302.
8. *Essays on the Poets, and other English Writers.* pp. 296.
9. *Historical and Critical Essays.* 2 vols. pp. 345, 354.

earnestness. He is at once a scholar, a thinker, and a man of feeling; and the interest of his writings lies in the fact, that in one or another of these characters his themes are unfolded. Sometimes it is in the light of knowledge, sometimes in a purely reflective point of view, and, at others, by the glow of enthusiasm, pity, or love, that he dwells upon a favorite person or analyzes a suggestive book. In each of these relations there is a genuine basis of interest; and accordingly the intelligent or susceptible reader will seldom find one of his pages devoid of attractive facts, deep emotion, or bold thought. In this eminently consists De Quincey's merit, — that he either knows thoroughly a phase or department, at least, of his subject, and is thus enabled to inform; or he has a genuine sympathy which justifies him in making it the text of a paper. His mind is singularly independent, and, at the same time, variously furnished; his intellectual bias is so strong, that it finds aliment from the most dissimilar objects; his common experience, his daily observation, and his extensive reading, all act both as stimuli and a nucleus to his reflective powers.

His habit of thought is remarkably introspective; human nature and the idiosyncrasies of his own character have for him a singular interest. He observes the facts of consciousness, and finds in their exposition the same pleasure that coarser minds discover in the objective representation of passion and incident. In this philosophical taste De Quincey excels. It prompted his first literary undertaking; for it is evidently as a reporter of mental phenomena that he made his Opium Confessions. There are involved in them ideas, experiences, suggestions, that unveil the drama of inward life, and lay bare, like a receding tide, both ghastly relics and precious gems. It has been objected to this work, that it spreads the net of temptation by eloquently portraying the enjoyment derivable from a pernicious drug. But two cogent reasons modify this objection; the first is, that the dreadful consequences of such a habit as opium-eating are as impressively stated as the immediate pleasure; and the second is, that the latter, instead of being universal, is confined to a few organizations. It is also to be remembered, that the ostensible subject of the Confessions is by no means their chief attraction; it is the sentiment

and expression of the writer that lend beauty and significance to his narrative.

Alive, however, as are these essays, and therefore to be prized far above the mechanical writing that forms the staple of current literature, this very quality of animation is sometimes purchased at the expense of consistency, thoroughness, and fair reasoning. In other words, we often enjoy De Quincey's glow and acuteness without being able to subscribe to his opinions; we sometimes accept his facts without adopting the inferences drawn from them; and cannot but feel that he is occasionally not less paradoxical than eloquent or amusing. It is in a liberal point of view and with reference to the spirit in which he usually writes, and not with an eye to his special judgments and details of argument, that we must view him. Not that he is not at times wonderfully discriminating and just in these particulars, but that he is equally liable to exercise his ingenuity in behalf of a prejudice or whim; and especially, in certain instances, apt to give the most partial and incomplete exposition of a subject, either from indifference or a limited view. In these cases, however, the error is quite palpable; a frank, decided manner, and not a sophistical and conscious mood, is apparent: and it is therefore easy to make allowance for the exaggeration and the prejudice inseparable from such individualism and earnestness as characterize De Quincey.

Instances of this partial view of a question and exaggerated statement are, indeed, of frequent occurrence. Thus, in his article on the "Temperance Reform," he is doubtless correct in attributing the appetite for stimulants partly to a morbid condition of the digestive organs; but, in his desire to make out a case, he is quite unjust to the average English cookery. Every traveller knows that joints of the best mutton and beef, roasted to a turn, are more easily obtained in Great Britain than elsewhere; and that the anomalous *cuisine* of the Continent is far less conducive to health. Again, he considers the night ascent of Etna to view the sunrise a traveller's folly, — because that glorious spectacle is witnessed to better advantage from a plain; but he does not take cognizance of the real motive of the excursion, which is to behold the shadow of the cone thrown over Sicily, and to watch

the gradual unfolding of one of the most varied and extensive landscapes in Europe. He demurs to the popular estimate of Pope's correctness, and indicates obscurity and errors of grammar to sustain his opinion, without recognizing the true ground of this reputation of the poet, which doubtless lies in a versification far more smooth, well-emphasized, and sonorous than that of his predecessors. It is in making "sound an echo to the sense," that Pope became renowned as a correct bard. In the same incomplete way he discusses the poetry of Keats, declaring that Endymion is all tinsel and filigree, while Hyperion is a magnificent fragment; whereas in the former poem there are, with many affectations, signs of high promise, images and descriptive touches of the same beautiful kind as adorn, with less alloy, Keats's later effort. He denies particular merit to Godwin's "Caleb Williams," and even questions its popularity, giving a very facetious outline of the plot, and scarcely alluding to its distinctive claim, which is that of a purely metaphysical interest, and the successful experiment of constructing a story that absorbs the reader without a love-plot, — which, previous to its appearance, was deemed essential to a novel.

De Quincey's ideal of literature and character is high; his mood is aspiring, and therefore minor faults are easily tolerated in his writings. "That boy can harangue an Athenian mob," said his tutor, "better than you or I can address an English audience." When he left school and wandered off in the Quixotic spirit of youth, he carried a copy of Euripides and a favorite poet of his own tongue in his pocket; and this free intercourse with nature and habitual reference to the genius of antiquity and of his own time were characteristic of his mental aptitude. He realizes perfectly the distinction between genius and talent. "A miscellaneous audience," he remarks, "is best conciliated by that sort of talent which reflects the average mind, which is not over-weighted in any one direction, is not tempted into any extreme, and is able to preserve a steady rope-dancer's equilibrium of posture upon themes where a man of genius is most apt to lose it." No critic has more emphatically taken into view Pope's Catholicism and its influence on his career; and yet he has also done the greatest justice to the poet's religious sentiment. "It is remarkable," he observes,

"that Pope betrays, in all places where he has occasion to *argue* about Christianity, how much grander and more faithful were the sub-conscious perceptions of his heart than the explicit commentaries of his understanding." His perceptions are often at once delicate and comprehensive, as when he infers the youthful simplicity of Shelley's first wife from her casual expression to some visitors, speaking of her garden attached to her lodgings: "Whenever Percy and I are tired of sitting in the house, the people let us *run about* in it." His personal impressions, however, supersede all reports. Thus Hazlitt's misanthropy is the chief fact in his nature upon which De Quincey expatiates; the record of his mind he passes by. His chapter of London life, in the Opium-Eater, reads like the fragment of a highly-wrought fiction, so graphic is the retrospect; and the "Household Wreck" is a story through which runs a tragic monotone in the most effective style of narrative art.

The variety of topics discussed in these volumes is quite as remarkable as the ability evinced in their treatment. In the first place we have a disconnected but still nearly complete autobiography of De Quincey himself, written with the zest of a poet and the insight of a metaphysician; then a series of papers conceived in the most vivid tone and devoted to subjects of popular interest, viewed under a satirical, romantic, or speculative guise, such as "Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts"; "The English Stage-coach"; "Dinner Real and Reputed." A set of literary portraits, well defined, spirited, bold, and usually drawn from intimate observation, succeed. Then follow what may be called historical essays, wherein full and reliable information is mingled with a strain of philosophic remark or illustrative anecdote; — including "The Cæsars," "Oxford," "The Irish Rebellion," &c. Other pages are devoted to criticism, or to a little treatise on "Style," "Roman History," or "Modern Superstition"; here "The Flight of a Tartar Tribe" is described with picturesque effect, there the claims of German literature are eloquently unfolded; now we are deep in the last days of a philosopher, and again perplexed by an ingenious defence of war or duelling, — entertained with the adventures of a Spanish nun, or moved by an anecdote of Charles Lamb. Well may

De Quincey say of himself, that he is no hypocrite, but "rather frank to an infirmity." He is indeed a psychological study, so entirely does he give up his mind, heart, and history to the reader; and although, as he justly declares, "a writer of this day, either in France or England, to be *very* popular, must be a story-teller, which is a function of literature neither very noble in itself nor tending to permanence," — yet no recent didactic author has so well succeeded in giving to his writings that personal interest and dramatic effect in which consists the popular charm of fiction.

De Quincey's culture, in the broadest acceptation of the term, was adapted to insure generous sympathies and requisite discipline. His classical education, German studies, communion with native poets, wanderings in Wales, secluded life among the Westmoreland lakes, his lonely sojourn in London, his early vicissitudes, and his interesting social experience, each and all left deep traces on his nature. Pictures tinted with life haunted his imagination; exemplars of literary art moulded his taste; the attrition of gifted minds quickened his own, and over all a contemplative spirit brooded. Thus furnished and trained he became a seer, an interpreter, an apt purveyor in the fields both of love and observation. His "Cæsars" is an admirable result of scholarship, individualized and philosophically reproduced; his few stories are imbued with the intensity of reflective sentiment; his criticisms abound with suggestive wisdom, and his speculative essays are thoughtful, brilliant, keenly humorous or deeply affecting; in the *rationale* of a question, in the salient points of a biography, he is at home; and these general merits are not contravened by the extravagance of statement or the latitude of reasoning in which he is wont to indulge, nor by the wayward episodes and desultory habits of expression of which systematic readers complain.

There is a colloquial ease in his style, a directness of expression which gives emphasis to his ideas. He writes after the manner of the best conversation. Let us imagine a gifted companion, — his feelings enlisted, his memory stirred, and his reflection thoroughly at work upon some genial question, character, or reminiscence, — and he would express himself very much as De Quincey

writes in his happiest moods; now giving a firmly outlined and animated description; now branching out into a collateral subject, and again at work upon an elaborate illustration. The apparently unpremeditated line of remark, the anecdotes and references to books, incidents of personal experience, outbreaks of pathos and interludes of reflection, are all quite natural where a writer or speaker is too full of his subject to plan a method of argument or mould his expression into an artistic form. There are, indeed, whole pages of De Quincey which illustrate the art of writing in its highest phase, but in its whole treatment his manner of developing a subject is apparently accidental. Perhaps this desultory style is the most effective for a writer swayed by emotion and retentive of knowledge. The materials of his discourse become fused in the heated crucible of sympathetic meditation and emerge with a spirit and grace not attainable from any more considered process. It is the secret of all eloquence; carelessness of effect to an earnest mind is the very best means of realizing it. We respect the author who is not content simply to delineate, but ever and anon deepens the flow of his discourse by a philosophic commentary grafted as a moral lesson, but inspired as a natural sentiment; and this habit enriches many of De Quincey's papers and gives a new significance and dignity to his ideas. He is always bringing a general to bear on a special circumstance, or drawing a comprehensive idea from an incidental fact. There is a dominant metaphysical vein in his authorship, which raises it above the level of a mere literary craft. He takes no prescriptive or commonplace view, but embraces a question, not only with his intelligence, but with his personality, if we may thus express it; the subject is warmed, lighted up, revealed by his pen, — if not always with entire truth and clearness, yet invariably in somewhat of a fresh and suggestive light. His aim is beneath the surface; he seeks for the elemental principle and the genuine relation; and therefore our view of the most familiar subject is brightened and expanded by his discussion of it.

Another merit of these writings is the firm combination of life and letters they yield. The scholar and the man have been kept too much apart in didactic literature.

From the majority of sermons, essays, and treatises, it is impossible to derive any notion of the antecedents of the writer, of his idiosyncrasies or experience. The mode of dealing with his subject, however tasteful or clever, is not human; the man is lost in the author. De Quincey admits us not only into the range of his reading and the sphere of his opinions, but into his career, his society, his heart; we know not only what he has studied, but what he has suffered. He reads character, history, and life with the lamp of experience at his side. It is no book-worm or monk who talks so agreeably, and often profoundly, with us, about Coleridge and Goethe, Shakspeare and Landor, but a man who has lived in the nineteenth century, felt the shock of its revolutions, and gazed ardently from the solitary ocean of his consciousness upon its intellectual beacons; one who has wandered hungry through Oxford Street, fraternized with Wordsworth, explored scenery, known persecution and love, erred, repented, enjoyed, and suffered even as a brother; and the memory of these things is woven into his abstractions, and gives them vitality and a genuine relation to the world of to-day. Life, as well as books, has taught De Quincey choice lessons; and he can satirize or elaborate its phases, under the form of an amateur murder or a stage-coach adventure, not less than in the character of a literary critic. Indeed, the emotional, whether derived from society, nature, books, or opium, has been his favorite study; few writers have applied to it the same degree of analytical observation. He is one of the few authors who tend directly to increase the conscious interest of life considered as an experience; he looks inward as well as around, and reveals that boundless world which habit and insensibility shroud to our perception. He makes us feel that the heart and the mind are all in all; that human character is a vast and thrilling study; and that the spectacle of human life includes all the tragic, comic, and picturesque elements that the dramatist invents.

Perhaps no exigency but that created by periodical and anonymous literature could have elicited all these desirable traits. The freedom of utterance thus secured, and the comparatively limited space allowed, promote both originality of views and brevity of expression. The

acquisitions, the adventures, and even the whims and fancies of a man, are thus, as it were, provoked into record. The magazine becomes a confessional; the public graciously inclines an ear, and the unseen votary unconsciously whispers the tender secret or the wayward crotchet in the midst of more grave revelations. Compare Johnson's artificial rhetoric, or Addison's figurative homilies, with the personal, frank, and characteristic essays of Lamb, Hunt, and De Quincey.

If we were to designate the latter's mind by a single epithet, we should call it appreciative. In intellectual sympathy he has been rarely equalled. Recognizing the moral beauty or the poetic instinct of a character, through all its incidental environments, with a subtle and an eager gaze, he watches and reports their development. Whatever is heroic, tender, and sincere, appeals without limit to his love. He delights in reproducing and celebrating such triumphs of our common nature, not in a studied and artistic, but in an earnest and intelligent manner. Who has so ably vindicated the noble purity of Jean d'Arc, or the truthful simplicity of Goldsmith, or the fine and sweet characteristics of Charles Lamb? Into a cause like this, where the philosophy of character demands an expositor, or the inadequacy of popular judgments needs to be rectified, the keen and glowing pen of De Quincey becomes a finely tempered lance wielded by a truly chivalric arm. It is a high service that he thus enacts; and one which no champion uninspired by the love of genius and his kind, and unendowed with a fine and noble intellect, could effectually render.

H. T. T.

New York

Art. VII. — MAN AND NATURE, IN THEIR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS.*

It is not without hesitation that the above title has been placed at the head of this article. But no other equally comprehensive and definite will express so well the subject we have now in view. Let no false expectations be excited; nor let the writer be charged with presumption, for treating so large a theme in so small a compass. A topic of such magnitude must be taken up in fragments. And here it is proposed to take it up as a question of dogmatic theology. The books named below are mentioned only because from different points they throw light upon the general subject.

There are two prominent theories upon the relations existing between Man and Nature. The first regards man as the lord of nature, moulding it with his hand, and stamping on it the impress of his free mind. According to this view, man was created puny and helpless, in subordination to the material powers. The earth, his kind mother, fed him from her bounty, and ruled him by her ordinances until the period of his maturity, when, having come to himself, he took her under his friendly authority and filial care. This theory appeals for its justification to the general analogies of nature, the researches of modern science, and the organization of the mind. It appeals, likewise, to history, and even to tradition carefully interpreted.

The second theory exactly reverses the positions of the first. It holds that man was originally made perfect, in body, mind, conscience, and soul; that his whole being therefore transcended nature, which lay submissive at his feet. This position of supremacy he forfeited by a vol-

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* 1. *The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some Parts of Geological Science.* By John Pye Smith, D. D., LL. D., F. R. S., and F. G. S. Fifth Edition. *With a Short Sketch of the Literary Life of the Author.* By John Hamilton Davies, B. A. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1852. 12mo. pp. 468.

2. *The Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature.* By Joachim Frederic Schouw, Professor of Botany in the University of Copenhagen. *And Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom.* By Francis von Kobell. Translated and edited by Arthur Henfrey, F. R. S., F. L. S., &c. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1852. 12mo. pp. 402.

untary act; he fell; in falling subjected himself to the powers of the earth, became mortal and sensual, and introduced corruption and discord into the spiritual and the natural world. The supporters of this theory — which is the prevalent belief of Protestant Christendom, and the basis of what is called the scheme of Redemption — appeal to the Bible, and to Christian theology. They also painfully endeavor to reconcile their view with the discoveries of science. We propose to submit this doctrine to a brief, but comprehensive criticism; from which we think it will appear, that its positions are justified neither by Scripture nor by the general consent of theologians; and that they are completely refuted by all that we know of the earth and its inhabitants.

Of course the theory under review claims in its favor, at the outset, the opening chapters in Genesis. To this old record, therefore, attention must first be directed. A careful reading will convince even the unlearned that we have here two separate accounts of the creation, which by no means coincide. One of these is contained in the first chapter, the other in the second chapter from the fourth verse. They cannot both be the work of the same author. Not to mention less important discrepances, it is enough to state here, that, according to the first narrative, man is the last work of God, created when every thing else is finished; and according to the second, he is formed first, out of the dust of the ground, ere yet a single living thing had appeared. The first account says that the trees and plants sprung up immediately from the soil; the second, that none existed until rain fell, and there was a man to till the ground. In the first record it appears that the man and the woman were created simultaneously. The second expressly declares that Adam was formed singly, and remained for a time alone, and that Eve, his companion, was fashioned from one of his ribs while he slept. Passing over these inconsistencies, which destroy the historical value of both accounts, we remark further, that neither narrative countenances the idea that Adam was created perfect in the dogmatical sense. In Gen. i. 27, we read that God made man in his own image, after his likeness; language which evidently refers to the dominion that was bestowed upon him over all created things. And this interpretation

seems to be confirmed by the eighth Psalm, and more clearly still by Ecclesiasticus xvii. 3. The word "image" is applied to corporeal, never to spiritual resemblance. The Jewish imagination clothed the Deity with a human shape; it is possible, therefore, that the idea of physical likeness may be also included in the passage above cited. The second narrative says nothing of man as made in the image of God. He is formed out of the dust, and by virtue of the breath in his nostrils becomes a living soul. He passes a blameless existence in the beautiful garden, eating the immortal fruit of the tree of life, but forbidden, on pain of death, to pluck from the other tree the fruit that gives the knowledge of good and evil. His condition is that of childlike innocence rather than of virtue. He named the beasts; but so does every savage tribe have a name for each animal and plant. He was naked and not ashamed; so are the wild man of the woods, and the infant, both wanting in moral sensibility. Elohim wishes to keep him in a condition of childhood; he forbids, therefore, his eating of the tree of knowledge. It is expressly stated that the Creator was actuated by *jealousy* in laying upon man this prohibition. "For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." And after the transgression, the Lord himself says, "Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever; therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden." If we suppose God to have withheld the fruit of the forbidden tree for a time only, until man should be of age to enjoy it, then we suppose him to have been an infant in his development. Thus, according to Genesis, the sin of Adam was his thirsting for wisdom; the Fall was his awakening to moral consciousness; the punishment was the sense of dissatisfaction and want. He does not *become* frail and mortal; he is only made *aware of* his infirmity and transientness. He was formed out of the dust of the ground, and was emphatically warned that nothing but abstinence from the tree of knowledge would save him from death. How long man would have lived had he given heed to the Divine admonition, and repressed his curiosity, does

not appear. Immortality could be his only on condition of his eating of the tree of life; but it would seem that Adam had no desire to eat of the tree of life until he had eaten of the tree of wisdom, and arrived at the knowledge of good and evil:—"And now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." The Fall, then, was a step towards immortality. It was the unfolding of the spirit's wings that reminded man of his body's weight. Death was but the shadow of the new-born soul. So teach these ancient records. The rest of the doom is naturally explained in accordance with this interpretation. Labor is a necessity imposed upon a craving nature. The savage does not labor in the cultivation of his fields. The earth is sterile to him who demands more substantial food than wild grapes and berries. None but the tiller of the earth is aware of the abundance of thorns and nettles, or feels them to be an evil. Man, come to himself, alive to the sense of his power and capacity, is first apprised of difficulties and dangers; he finds enemies; pain and sorrow are his portion; waste places are an offence to him; the crawling reptile is an insidious foe. Man, being at hostility with himself, discovers that all things are hostile to him. Heaven recedes with his ascending hope and advancing ideal of happiness. God is unfriendly, because he no longer represents a perfection like his own. The face of nature wears a sinister expression. The wind moans and sobs. The subtle snake seems darting away from wrath. Contrasted with the joy and peace he longs for, suffering and toil are a heavy curse. Nothing forbids our reading thus the doom of Adam, because, as we have already shown, the narrative in Genesis not only allows, but compels us to regard him as an undeveloped being, whom a daring curiosity brought to the bitter consciousness of hope and fear.

The remaining books of the Old Testament contain no allusion whatever to the doctrine of man's perfection and fall. It is true that evil breaks out in frightful forms in the very first generation after Adam. Cain murders Abel. Afterwards Lamech addresses a bloody and vindictive speech to his wives. Later, we are told of the depraved intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men, which was punished by a shortening

of human life; and finally the wickedness of the world is too abominable to be endured, and a flood overwhelms the guilty race. But no hint is anywhere given of a causal connection between this corruption and the first man's transgression. It is not ever so distantly intimated that man has been in a state of decline. Bitter complaints enough there are in the Old Testament about the sinfulness of mankind, — sweeping and merciless expressions, as if piety had forsaken the earth, as if the offspring were perverted from the mother's womb, as if man inherited weakness from woman; but still no reference is made to the story in Genesis. On the contrary, men are continually exhorted to love wisdom, and to hold fast the Divine law. Integrity is not wanting. Job persists in calling himself just, in spite of all presumptions to the contrary; the Psalmist repeatedly affirms his righteousness; the Preacher asserts that God makes men upright. Numerous passages teach that blindness of mind and hardness of heart are not the normal condition of people. Even the heart of Pharaoh has to be supernaturally indurated. Everywhere, in fact, it is tacitly assumed that man is progressing. Prior to the captivity, the Jews had no theory of evil, no theory of man or of nature.

From the date of the Babylonish captivity onward, the speculative thought of Persian philosophy influenced very strongly the Hebrew mind. In the Apocryphal writings there are two passages (Wisdom of Sol. ii. 24, Ecclus. xxv. 24), which may possibly contain an indistinct allusion to the history of Adam and Eve. "Through the spite of the Devil, death has come into the world." "From woman is the origin of sin, and by reason of her do we all die." But it is not altogether improbable that the narrative in Genesis was itself composed about the period of the captivity, and was of Persian origin.

The orthodox theory of man's relation to nature does not appear in the Old Testament. It is almost superfluous to ask if it appears in the Gospel portion of the New. Christ never mentions an Eden or an Adam. He never exalts the past man above the present. The Gospels everywhere recognize man as born superior to nature. Jesus acknowledges that there are good men out of the circle of the Christian fraternity. Peter expressly

declares that among all people are some who fear God and do righteously. Even Paul testifies that the heathen may know God through their reason, and obey him with their conscience. But to argue this point would be a useless expenditure of time and labor. The Gospels are throughout opposed to the doctrine of man's subjection to nature.

Paul's view respecting this matter deserves a somewhat closer examination. It would be difficult to say how far this Apostle regarded the narrative in Genesis as historical. That he recognized historical elements in it cannot be doubted. Adam is too prominent a personage in his view to be either mythical or ideal. It is no easy matter to define the thoughts of Paul. So much, however, is certain; that the Apostle ascribes to his primitive man no perfection of any kind, physical or metaphysical. No mention is made of his wisdom or of his spiritual elevation. He was not in any sense the prototype of Christ, but in every point his contrast. "The first Adam was made a living soul; the second Adam was made a life-giving spirit." "The first man is earthy, born of the earth; the second man is the Lord from heaven." These phrases express no superficial distinction. They do not refer to the body of the one Adam and to the soul of the other. They are not partial in their application. They embrace in their meaning the whole personality of each of these great representatives of humanity. The earthy, psychical man, "a living soul" by virtue of the breath in his nostrils, as the story in Genesis informs us, represents the elements of nature, the principle of passionate, instinctive, animal life. The heavenly, spiritual man represents the elements of the soul, the principle of intelligence, faith, goodness. Just as the "natural body" is opposed to the "spiritual body," so the "natural man" is opposed to the "spiritual man." As in his whole being Christ was "heavenly," so in his whole being was Adam "earthy"; subjected therefore to nature, instead of nature's lord. In Paul's view, Adam was not by constitution immortal. He was liable to death. His body had in it the seeds of corruption, and like every fleshly body was mortal from its composition. Not that Adam was originally under the necessity of going down into the grave. By no means. That is the very point of nicety.

He was liable to death, but he might have escaped it; he might have lived an indefinite period upon the earth, and then have passed without a pang into the heavens, had he chosen to accept the special grace accorded to him, had he eaten of the tree of life, whose fruit conferred immortality. But he freely transgressed the Divine command, and death was the consequence. He was expelled from the garden, driven away from the tree of life, and abandoned to the law of his nature which doomed him to the grave, body and soul, — to the dim and dusky realm of Hades. The philosophy of the Jew did not sunder the spirit from the flesh. Death to him involved something more than the body's decay; it condemned the soul to the gloomy under-world of joyless existence. Adam died. Death was no longer a possibility; it was a fact. But of the first transgression this was the sole consequence. Paul says nothing of a change in Adam's nature; still less of any corruption in his soul; if possible, even less of any depravity inflicted upon him as punishment. Before his sin, he was the "natural," "earthy" man. The carnal and psychical elements prevailed in his composition from his birth. Only they were latent, not come into full and conscious activity. Transgression was the legitimate outbirth from Adam's constitution. An earthy, fleshly man, he had never the power to restrain his appetites, once aroused. The Apostle nowhere hints that the carnal element was introduced by the first man's sin; on the contrary, Adam, as the opposite of Christ, must have been essentially carnal. He might, we conceive, have applied to himself the Apostle's own language: "I had not known sin but by the law. I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. Sin, taking advantage of the commandment, wrought in me all manner of evil desire. For I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died." The original man, then, according to Paul, is rather undeveloped than perfect. His fall cannot be considered as a lapse from a higher to a lower condition of being, certainly not as a descent from a state of spiritual elevation to a state of spiritual corruption. It was rather the awakening of his self-consciousness, the bursting of his nature into active life. Paul, however, contemplates only the dark side of this awakening; looks

at its fear, not at its promise; regards it not as the uplifting of a new ideal before one who had become aware of his spiritual nature, but as the rousing of that passionate energy which vexed the mind with anguish and dread, made the conscience quail and the heart despond, and sent the sickened soul at last to the shades of the under-world.

In what the Apostle teaches respecting the consequences of Adam's transgression to the world of nature and man, we find nothing inconsistent with the view here offered. He nowhere affirms that it has disturbed or distorted the material universe. This assertion is made in the very presence of the eighth chapter of Romans, and after a careful examination thereof. The later rabbins held that the earth was cursed with man in the Fall; but we are not authorized in ascribing such an opinion to Paul. We have no disposition to circumscribe the meaning of "κτίσις," that very indefinite word, rendered in our version "creature," "the whole creation." Let it signify what it will. Let it embrace, as perhaps it does embrace, the whole creation, animate and inanimate, to the exclusion only of the glorified humanity of Christians. We are not justified in imputing to Paul the idea, that this whole creation was corrupted by the sin of Adam, that it groaned in sympathy with the echo of his transgression. For the Apostle never speaks of nature as having been originally perfect. Nay, he never speaks of Adam as having been originally perfect. His doctrine respecting the first man would seem to demand that nature should have been as it is from the beginning. Further, the very language of St. Paul appears to confirm this view. The "creature" is represented as longing, looking forward with hope. "The *earnest expectation* of the creature *waiteth* for the manifestation of the sons of God." Romans viii. 22, which is triumphantly put forward as the great proof-text of the orthodox doctrine, is in fact opposed to it. Paul is not thinking of a poor, sickly, puny, wailing creature; far enough from that. The image before his mind is that of a woman in labor, a strong, hopeful woman, "groaning and travailing" with the noble man-child of promise. If this passage is any thing more than a daring outbreak of rhetoric, it is decidedly against the orthodox doctrine of a hopeless world. Nature's voice of complaint

has nothing like despair in its tone. To the Apostle's kindled imagination, the material universe sympathizes with man's agony and hope. Like him, she struggles in the bondage of corruption; like him, she sighs for her coming deliverance. It is not fancy, but reason, enlightened by the judgment of the most candid scholars, which makes us put into the mind of Paul a belief that the outward universe would undergo a transfiguration similar to that foretold by the ancient prophets; — not a restoration to a lost beauty, but a new and glorious transformation, when the mountains and the hills should break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field should clap their hands.

In consequence of Adam's transgression, the whole race of mankind was submitted to death, the same death to which Adam yielded. Paul says nothing of inward corruption, or transmitted evil. That Adam has instituted a law of depravity, he nowhere teaches. He does not ascribe toil, pain, the woman's labor, and the man's sweat, to any past offence. He does not even insist upon a causal connection between the sin of the first man and the sins of his posterity. Adam was the first sinner; he made a beginning in disobedience; mankind after him continued to disobey. The sequence is historical, not causal. The proof is experimental, not metaphysical. Paul is careful to state that each man sins for himself. "Death passed upon all men, *because all* have sinned." He wishes to include all under sin, and in proof of universal sin alleges the *fact* of universal death. It was necessary to show that sin had reigned in the world during the whole period that preceded the Mosaic dispensation. But inasmuch as sin is not reckoned where there is no law, one might say that sin could not have existed in that period. To which Paul replies, "Nevertheless death did reign from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression." The prevalence of death establishes the prevalence of sin. The whole reasoning presumes that each individual is responsible for his own transgression. Doubtless Paul believed, in common with other Jews, that the pious Enoch and the sainted Elijah were caught up immediately into heaven, instead of passing through the portals of the grave; a belief quite inconsistent with any transmitted corruption from Adam. Assuming this ex-

position to be the correct one, — and it could be easily justified if time allowed, — it is certainly safe to say that Paul does not teach that man was originally lord of Nature, and afterwards her slave. His theology supposes him to have been always her slave, until delivered by Christ.

The prevailing view among the Jews was very similar to that of Paul. Josephus ascribes no immortality to the first man, and even attributes to Adam and the patriarchs, of course subsequent to the Fall, an extraordinary wisdom, and acquaintance with the arts and sciences. The Sibylline Oracles teach that man before he was tainted with sin enjoyed a long life, and his death was a falling to sleep. As a punishment for his wilfulness, however, he was subjected to a sterner law of death, and was doomed to Hades.

In the earliest Christian writers we find one or two very obscure hints of the doctrine that afterwards prevailed in the Church. Thus, according to the Clementine Recognitions, natural evils are introduced into the world through sin; but it was the sin of the angels, not of Adam. During eight generations, life was prolonged to a thousand years, and then nothing harmful existed. According to the Clementine Homilies, likewise, Nature is corrupted by the intercouse of the angels with the daughters of men; human life is shortened; poisonous beasts appear. Theophilus of Antioch deduces natural evil from the sins of mankind. And yet this same Theophilus teaches that Adam was only a child in Paradise, and that God refused him the fruit of the tree of knowledge because of his immaturity. In mercy he was expelled from the garden, and submitted to labor and sorrow that he might learn obedience. Clement of Alexandria maintains that Adam was not the perfect man, but was free and frail like his descendants. The story of Paradise is an allegory, explaining the genesis of evil in the soul. Origen considers Adam to have been in a state of childhood. The fall of man consisted in his mortal birth, in his leaving the heavenly paradise for an abode upon this imperfect globe. In the scheme of Origen, the death incurred is spiritual, not physical. The earlier fathers taught that man was created in the "image" and "similitude" of God; some referring "similitude" to the bodily shape, and "image" to the intellectual nature;

and others explaining the likeness to God, in its whole extent, of the intellectual nature, and of the dominion exercised over the lower orders in creation. All supposed Adam to have been νήπιος, childish, untaught. Irenæus and Tertullian are the first who attribute immortality to man before the Fall, and make death a subsequent physical necessity. And even this death Irenæus regards as a dispensation of mercy, to prevent man from sinning everlastingly. Such were the opinions of a few among the more prominent teachers. Others might be cited, until the list of writers was exhausted, and yet nothing at all corresponding to the later Protestant dogma would be found. The thought of that age was in its whole character dissimilar.

Views like those quoted above prevailed until the fifth century, when the Pelagian controversy elicited more exact opinions respecting the nature of the primeval man.

Pelagius and his disciples advanced views of man's original state far more moderate than any which had obtained previously. According to their notion, the first man was nothing more or less than the first man, — a common man, with no perfections of any kind. He had a capacity for excellence, and that was all. Sensual appetite and passion were natural to him, and active in him. His Eden was no glorious place of bliss: for he labored there, earning bread by the sweat of his brow; and his wife knew the pangs of childbirth, even as the animals did. In short, the British monk, in his whole treatment of this matter, proved himself possessed of good, sterling British common-sense. Augustine passionately opposed Pelagius, and met every one of his positions with flat denial. He contended that Adam had a perfect understanding, so that the most sagacious of after time could no more compare with him, than a tortoise could compare in swiftness with an eagle. His will was virtuous. It was only possible for him to sin; only possible for him to die. His body was of carnal material and required nourishment; but the fruit of the tree of life secured it against old age and death, and in time it was to be changed into an ethereal body. He was free from sensual desire, and sexual intercourse for him was without concupiscence. His life in Paradise was a condition of

perfect bliss. The very animals therein were immortal. There was no toil either of body or mind. "*Tantum ne libuit,*" exclaims Augustine in his fiery way, "*quietissimo beatorum loco, etiam in viris sudorem laboris immittere?*" And when Julianus speaks of the birth-pangs of animals, he breaks forth, "And did the animals ever tell you whether the sounds they utter are songs or moans? Certainly the parturient hens rather chant than lament." There were no babes in Eden. The new-born offspring had all their faculties, could walk and talk and reason. They never cried, never were sick, never were scratched or hurt by falling down; they needed not the rod nor the medicine-chest, but were the fac-simile of their parents in all respects. True, they were small from the necessity of the case; but then, if God could fashion a grown woman out of a little rib-bone, why might he not have caused the paradisiacal children to spring up instantaneously to their full size?

Of course, in a paradise like this, there was no evil of any sort. Gregory of Nyssa made but a commonplace remark, when he said that the beasts of prey ate grass there. It was a perfectly natural conclusion of Basilius, that the roses of Eden had no thorns. It was also a very just and very forlorn inference, that, had man continued for ever in this "happy state," there would have been no social ties, no sacred responsibilities or blessed cares, no sweet relations of mutual dependence and charity, which alone enrich life and adorn humanity. It was an unfortunate confession of St. Augustine, that the primitive man had a body of flesh which required physical nourishment. Later theologians of the school found that position beset with obvious difficulties. He who will consult the "Summa" of Thomas Aquinas, Pt. 1. quæst. 97, art. 3, and the works of Jacob Böhme (Three Principles, 10. 7; Aurora, 6. 22. 23), will not fail to discover how these were surmounted. It is enough for us to intimate that the orthodox fathers of the Christian Church could devise no method more satisfactory than that which Mahomet hit upon, to meet the necessities of his well-fed followers in Paradise. But even this was not the end. It is hard to stop the course of speculation. Scotus Erigena went a little further than his predecessors, and maintained that but for sin human nature

would never have been split into male and female; man would have been one, and the earth, like the angel-world, would have been peopled by emanations; no difference of stature, shape, or knowledge ever would have existed, "nor would the world have broken out into various sensible forms, and manifold diversities of its parts." Subtilties like these, however, in time brought confusion upon their inventors.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church was neither Pelagian nor Augustinian. It much more nearly resembled that of the earlier Fathers. It had been maintained that Adam was immortal through the special grace of God. The Catholic formularies teach that his "original justice" was due wholly to this supernatural aid. The primitive man, they say, was created with a pure and spotless nature, human in every respect, but innocent and harmonious in all its parts. By nature he was endowed with free-will, a sign of imperfection, and had only the capacity of knowing and loving God. By Divine grace he became "just and holy," and lived in blessed communion with himself and with his Maker. He was immortal in body and mind. His faculties and impulses were in full accord with God's will, nor ever once threatened rebellion. Adam through his transgression forfeited that gift of supernatural grace by virtue of which he enjoyed immortality and communion with God, and fell back upon the original substance of his nature. The harmony of his constitution was disturbed; free-will was weakened; the sensual appetites broke loose; he became subject to decay and death, and to all the infirmities and ills that originate in disordered passions; both soul and body deteriorated. This his sinful and feeble condition was transmitted to his posterity. The Catholic fathers had too fine a sense of truth and propriety to indulge themselves in the details of speculation, often absurd and disgusting, in which their opponents took delight. There is a delicate reserve in their statements, as of men who would not say more than was actually necessary. But no obscurity hides their meaning. From the condition of man after the Fall, according to the Church doctrine, we may infer his condition before the Fall. And here we cannot forbear quoting a beautiful passage from St. François de Sales, which we find in Möhler's "Vindication of his Symbol-

ism against Dr. Baur." The language freely translated runs thus: —

"Among the partridges it often happens that some steal eggs from others, and brood over them, either from a desire to become mothers, or in their stupidity mistaking strange eggs for their own. And now — singular but well-attested fact — the partridge thus hatched, and nurtured under the wings of a stranger bird, on first hearing the cry of its true mother, who had laid the egg, leaves the thievish partridge and flies to its parent, following her by the attraction of its origin, — through a sympathy which had lain dormant in the depths of its nature until it had found its object, — but which, when suddenly aroused, impels the bird's appetite towards its first duty. So is it with the human heart. For though it be nurtured and brought up among things corporeal, base, and transitory, — under the wings of nature, so to speak, — nevertheless, at the first look it directs towards God, at its first reminiscence, the natural and original inclination to love him, which was latent and imperceptible, awakens in an instant, and leaps forth like a spark from the ashes."

Such being the posture of the soul in its fallen state, we may judge wherein consisted the perfection of the first man before he was stolen from his heavenly parent, and how far the Catholic doctrine is from asserting that man is the slave of nature, or was ever by his own right its lord. Indeed, this doctrine, so cautiously discriminated, need not conflict with the inference which science draws respecting the primitive man's condition. For although the Church is careful to say that Adam never wanted the Divine grace, that it was his from the beginning, still it supposes him, as a natural man, to have been no more perfect than others. He fell *into* his natural condition, rather than *from* it. This is but a single instance of the wonderful sagacity displayed by the Romanist theologians.

While the Catholic Church stood discreetly between Augustine and Pelagius, the Protestants accepted the doctrine of Augustine, and carried it out to even more extravagant results. They ascribed to Adam a more entire perfection than Augustine had ever dreamed of. The Protestants — we speak of them as one body, for the points wherein the several schools disagree are of no moment to us here — contended that the primitive man was by nature and essentially perfect. By the original

law of his being he knew and loved divine things, was holy, religious, and in complete concourse with God. If we remember that the depth of depravity after the Fall corresponded with the height of elevation before it, and that the subsequent misery balanced the original peace, we can easily construct for ourselves from the Protestant idea of the "blissful Eden" that of the "corrupt world."

From this point — strictly speaking, from the time of Martin Luther — commences the reign of that singular theory, which affirms man to have been first the lord and then the slave of nature; which unequivocally declares that in his fall he plunged the beautiful world back into chaos. Having no space to dwell upon the history of this astonishing tenet, we will briefly illustrate its character by calling to witness one or two of its professors. The relation supposed by the Protestant theologians to exist between the sin of Adam and natural evils, is familiar to all dwellers in New England. Jacob Böhme represents the later mystics. We quote from the Aurora, ch. 18. 7. 9, a passage illustrating his view: —

"So also it is very clear and manifest that before the curse there grew not such venomous thorns and thistles and poisonous fruits; and if God had not cursed the earth, then no beast should have been so fierce and evil. From whence now is also arisen the disobedience of the beasts towards man, and their wildness, as also that they are so fierce and evil, and that man must hide himself from their fierce rage; whereas God in the creation gave all into his power; all beasts of the field should be in subjection under him, which now is quite contrary; for man is become a wolf to them, and they are lions against him."

From the heart of old Germany we pass to the centre of modern England. From the poor cobbler of Gorlitz, who could barely read and write, to the imperial Milton, nursed in universities and redolent of learning and culture. Stronger statement of the Augustinian theory can scarcely be found than occurs in the Paradise Lost. Josephus, in common with the rabbins of his nation, believed that the serpent which tempted Eve was a common snake, at that time furnished with legs and a tongue. Milton does no outrage to common sense like this, but he makes the serpent stand upright and move towards Eve.

"Not with indented wave
Prone on the ground, as since; but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that towered,
Fold above fold, a surging maze! his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes."

When Virgil tells us that at the sin of Dido and Æneas the earth trembled, the heavens blazed with lightning, and the nymphs howled on the mountain-tops, we admire the fine imagination of the poet. But it is Milton, the theologian, who describes in similar, but more terrific language, the convulsion that followed the first sin: —

"Earth felt the wound; and Nature, from her seat
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
That all was lost."

It was Milton, the theologian, chanting in noble verse the gloomy and irrational doctrines of his Puritan brethren, who could write such lines as these: —

"At that tasted fruit,
The sun, as from Thyestæan banquet, turned
His course intended; else how had the world,
Inhabited, though sinless, more than now
Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat!
These changes in the heavens, though slow, produced
Like change on sea and land; sideral blast,
Vapor, and mist, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt, and pestilent. . . . . .
. . . . . Thus began
Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord, first
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduced, through fierce antipathy:
Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish: to graze the herb all leaving,
Devoured each other; nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him; or with countenance grim
Glared on him passing."

Carnal desire, with all its consequences, pain, decay, and inward unrest, follow the first transgression. A devilish will works its pleasure over and through the earth. The very poles of the globe are turned askance

"twice ten degrees and more
From the sun's axle."

Such was the belief of Milton at this stage of his life. Such the Protestant faith, save among a few despised sectarians and heretics. It has fully expressed itself in the form of dogmatics, mysticism, and poetry. But it is not yet a faith of the past. It is still the prevalent belief of New England at least. More insidiously, but

not less positively, the theologian states it in doctrine, prints it in his book, and utters it in his discourse. The mystic Swedenborgian ineffectually tries to make it another thing, through his doctrine of correspondences; not concealing from us his conviction that the material universe would present a very different aspect now had the primitive man retained the image in which he was created, yet kindly disguising it by speaking of types that existed eternally in the mind of God, and not of ills that resulted accidentally from the wilfulness of man. The poets, however, have discarded it. Since Milton, no one has undertaken to set this creed to music.

We think it has, to say the least, been made to appear probable, that the vulgar theory respecting man's relation to nature finds no countenance in the Bible, none in the earliest traditions of the Church, or in the opinions of the first Christian theologians. It was of comparatively late origin. It was the offspring of controversy. It grew out of intellectual tendencies peculiar to Christianity. Strictly speaking, we cannot say that it was devised for the purpose of laying a broad basis for a supernatural scheme of Redemption. It was rather an inference from that scheme. It proceeded in St. Augustine from a metaphysical and speculative turn of mind, stimulated by an intense desire to account for the origin of evil, and to escape from the Manichæan doctrine of two original opposing Powers. The primitive man was thenceforth taken out of history entirely. He was a philosopheme; a metaphysical postulate; a theological deduction. He was the personification of an hypothesis. He was an assumption stated in the form of biography. He was the creature of the theologian's brain, which constructed him *a priori*, adding to his figure this or the other trait as the urgency of controversy demanded. That such was the method followed seems to be confessed by Dr. Möhler, when he says: "In determining man's original state, we must especially direct our view to the renewal of the fallen creature in Christ Jesus; because, as regeneration consists in the reëstablishment of our primeval condition, and this transformation and renewal is only the primitive creation restored, the insight into what Christ hath

given us back, affords us the desired knowledge of what in the origin was imparted to us."

The received theory respecting man and nature supposes that both were created perfect, and afterwards deteriorated, until the time of Christ. It assumes a causal connection between moral and natural evil; Nature became corrupted because man was corrupt. It sends its professors abroad over the whole earth in search of ugliness and misery. It rejoices, like the ill-omened owl, in the night side of nature. With dreadful satisfaction, it contemplates deformity and convulsion, flood, earthquake, volcano, wilderness, tempest, pestilence, bird and beast of prey, monsters, venomous reptiles, poisonous insects, pain, disease, blight, hereditary deformity, hereditary vice, the ills of the individual and the derangements of society, all evil and all infirmity, as the manifest signs of wrath, the legitimate result of human depravity. And to this length the theory must go. The question now arises, How does this hypothesis accord with the facts of science? To this point let us briefly address ourselves.

If this theory of original perfection and subsequent fall were true, we should expect to find nature most barren and disfigured where man is most degraded. But the reverse of this is notoriously the case. In the glowing region of the tropics Nature exhibits her most powerful, affluent, and brilliant energy of life. There are the varied and luscious fruits. There is the luxuriant shrubbery. There are the enormous trees, "a single tree a garden." There are the gorgeous plants in thousands of species. Birds, insects, reptiles, display every form of grace, every shape of beauty, every splendid and delicate hue. But it is in this clime especially that man is found in his lowest condition. It is in this clime that his figure more nearly resembles the animal, and his instincts bring him into fellowship with the brute. "In India, where physical life attains the utmost limits known to our earth, the indigenous man is a black." In sunny lands like these, man, exempt from the "curse" of labor, becomes indolent and luxurious. The slave of his passions, his nobler powers are unemployed; he has cunning instead of wisdom, and superstition instead of faith.

On the other hand, the human species has made the

greatest advance towards mental and moral development in the temperate regions, where Nature, not niggardly, but frugal, compelled man to labor for a comfortable subsistence; where the varied climate stimulated all the activities of the frame, and in creating wants unfolded capacities. The very character of Nature's bounty suggested effort. The Asiatic balms and spices and delicious fruits did not afford to man nourishment, but made him enterprising in commerce. In Nature the law of perfection is physical. In man the law of perfection is moral. The moral and physical do not develop themselves side by side. In power of conquest and civilization compare North and South America; compare Europe with Africa; the isles of Greece with the isles of the Pacific. In point of spiritual attainment, compare the Northern with the Southern nations; the German with the Mexican, the Anglo-American with the Brazilian. The friends of the theory we are criticizing regard the Roman Catholic religion as sensual, idolatrous, and degrading. Yet this faith has always found easy access to the natives of the tropical regions, where Nature puts on her most glorious beauty, while Protestantism has collected its disciples among the races of the less genial and benignant North. Facts like these place the theory we are examining in an uncomfortable dilemma.

Again, the naturalist assures us that animals which the theologian has ever regarded as the types of man's most hideous corruption, — such as the lion, tiger, hyena, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, orang-outang, — are the highest types of the animal creation; while the ounce and jaguar, the tapir, pecari, and armadillo, the harmless llama and sportive monkey, exhibit the lowest grades of development in their several species. Moreover, since ugliness of shape is so often mentioned as a mark of depravity by theologians, how comes it that some of the most hideous-looking animals have been the most inoffensive? The huge mastodon, whose picture makes the children tremble, was a miserable vegetarian, a feeder upon roots and aquatic plants. The enormous megatherium, with a thigh-bone three times as large as an elephant's, a pelvis five feet wide, and grinders seven inches long, was a poor mixture of sloth, armadillo, and ant-eater, with claws like a mole's, suitable for scratching up roots from the earth. The formidable dinotherium, a monstrous

and sinister-looking beast, with tusks and proboscis, an incarnation apparently of the seven cardinal sins, was nothing else than a great tapir, that ate herbs and went to sleep by the marshes. Perhaps, however, there was method in Nature's madness. She may have thought it poor economy to allow to the same creatures beauty and goodness.

But the most fatal objection to the common theory respecting this causal connection between Nature and man, is found in the very obvious fact, that all the signs of corruption in the natural world, in their most extreme forms, existed ages before man appeared upon the globe. The preadamite earth was grim, gloomy, and deadly to the last degree. The sulphureous epochs, the eras of earthquake, flood, submersion, volcano, hurricane, subterranean fire, atmospheric convulsion, were drawing to a close before the human race was formed. Previous to his creation there were forty deluges and eruptions to one since. The surface of the globe was a rocky waste. Tempests vexed the air. Streams of fire ran along the ground. Oceans poured over the land, submerging continents and sweeping away whole tribes of animated beings. The most hideous monsters abounded. What a compound of wickedness was the ichthyosaurus, with the general shape of a fish, the head and breastbone of a lizard, fins of a whale, beak of a porpoise, and teeth of a crocodile! What a demonstration of iniquity was the plesiosaurus, with head like a lizard, teeth like a crocodile, neck resembling the body of a serpent, trunk and tail of the proportions of a quadruped, and four paddles like those of turtles! What shall we say of the iguanodon, that enormous lizard, one hundred feet long, with a limb seven feet in circumference? He ought to have been one of the earliest products of original sin. And then the pterodactyl! His appearance would indicate that he was the first to bear the brunt and wrench of man's transgression. He was the homeliest part of every creature crushed into one gigantic shape. The bird gave him his head and neck, the bat his wings, the crocodile, whose beauty figures largely in all these compositions, his snout, and with all this he had a long fore-finger terminating in a hook. This horrible creature would sit upon trees during the lonely night, with his wings folded, or would hop dismally about, like a huge bird.

The quarries of Œningen, near Constance, furnished the bones of a gigantic aquatic salamander, which a German physician by the name of Scheuchzer declared must belong to a fossil man, one of the "cursed race which was overwhelmed by the deluge." But no: such monstrosities did not long coexist with man. Kindly Nature for the most part had finished her rough experiments in creation, had despatched her more coarse and clumsy work, before the time for his appearing; and when his nobler form came well moulded from her hand, she was already clearing away the old rubbish, and burying it under the mountains. Animals of ferocious habits existed ages before the creation of man. There were fishes that "were furnished with long palates, and squat, firmly based teeth, well adapted for crushing the strong-cased zoöphytes and shells of the period, fragments of which occur in the fœcal remains; some with teeth, that, like the fossil sharks of the later formations, resemble lines of miniature pyramids, larger and smaller alternating; some with teeth sharp, thin, and so deeply serrated that every individual tooth resembles a row of poniards set up against the walls of an armory; and these last, says Agassiz, furnished with weapons so murderous, must have been the pirates of the period. Some had their fins guarded with long spines, hooked like the beak of an eagle; some with spines of straighter and more slender form, and ribbed and furrowed longitudinally, like columns; some were shielded by an armor of long points, and some thickly covered with glistening scales."

What will the theory under consideration do with such facts as these? Did the sin of Adam exert a reflex influence, convulsing Nature with impetuous recoil? Did it resolve the Kosmos back into chaos? Did it change the shape and dimension of continents, their elevation and structure? Did it scoop out new basins for the oceans, altering their contour and depth? Did the whisper of Eve, and Adam's mild assent, so agitate the powers of the air that the various climates of the globe, which have so much to do with modifying the forms of life, were reconstructed? Did the disobedience of Adam's will abrogate the law of creation, and compel the earth to begin its career anew with the oceanic epoch? No less potent a spell will account for the un-

deniable facts that lie on the very surface of investigation. Or perhaps, inasmuch as Adam's sin was foreseen and foreordained, the world was, at the outset, made conformably crooked. The Creator, wishing that all his works should be pervaded by a spirit of uniformity, and knowing that the primitive man would introduce discord, kindly consented to make the whole discordant from the beginning, like the chief musician, who, to humor a tuneless old king, scraping his tuneless fiddle, commanded the whole orchestra to put their instruments into the same jangling condition, that his silly old majesty's ears might not be annoyed. On this supposition, which we believe to be seriously entertained by some, the distance between the effect and the cause was so immense, that the former was wellnigh spent before the latter arrived. The world was beginning to recover from the shock before it was felt. A portentous illustration, truly, of the saying, that "coming events cast their shadows before." And what a fantastic Deity is this, who was not only powerless to prevent his creature from sinning, but graciously accommodated himself to his obliquity by twisting his whole creation awry!

And if the facts of Nature thus flatly contradict this prevailing theory, the sentiment of Nature is, if possible, yet more opposed to it. The sentiment of Nature is always pure, peaceful, consoling, invigorating to the heart and soul. Nature rebukes baseness, passion, and complaint. The more refined the spirit, the more refining is her influence. Yes; even in her waste places, among lonely mountains, amid leafless forests, upon the wide expanse of desert, dwells the sanctifying spirit of God. It was a true instinct that led the ancient anchorets to the caverns in the wilderness, for there was peace. In the deep solitude they found a more blessed companionship; when Nature did nothing, God did all. The invalid retires to the bleak hills and to the wild sea-shore for health. The weary heart will leave the fragrant bower and the humming bees, finding more rest on the tossing waters, moaning and melancholy, or in the gloomy recesses where the torrent tumbles down the ravine, and the rent rocks are wasting away with their green mould and trickling moisture. Where we are most alone, we are most with God. Natural imperfection the result of

moral evil! Nay, rather it is a part, and by no means a doubtful part, of the Divine beneficence. It is fraught with hope, not with despair. So is all evil. So is pain and disease, and toil and decay. Ay, so is death, — death which the great Apostle regarded as the peculiar curse. No wonder that he so regarded it, associating with it the gloomy under-world of shadowy and forsaken existence. But death as a law of nature is merciful. God be praised for death! Never was it ordained as punishment for sin, but rather, we might conjecture, as a reward for virtue. It enlarges mortal homes. It transfigures human affections. It brings the beatific vision to our darkened sight. It takes away the body that it may reveal the soul. Death is hope to the discouraged, and rest to the weary and heavy laden, and kindly warning to the reckless and passionate. Death promises an end to pain, and misery, and temptation, and sin. It promises a new and auspicious beginning to faith and virtue. The gift of immortality is the gift of death.

If any theory may be considered as exploded, this may be, — that the disorders in the natural world bear witness to corruption in man, or are in any way the consequents of sin. But what does Nature teach in regard to man's condition? To this question none but a general answer can be given. It is difficult to obtain an accurate report of facts. The scientific men are not purely scientific. There is a theological taint upon most of them. The popularity of Hugh Miller's works is due almost as much to their Orthodoxy as to their science. They are Calvinistic treatises in a very transparent disguise. From the "Footprints of the Creator" alone, we could extract edifying matter enough for a long sermon. The bitterness of the *odium theologicum*, which we fear has more than any thing else commended his refutation of the "Vestiges," weakens the power of that refutation with candid men. What are we to think of a scientific writer who makes no secret of assuming the cardinal points of the Calvinistic scheme; contrasts the "Adam of the infidel" with the "Adam of the poet and theologian, independent, in his instantaneously derived perfection, of all after development"; talks of a "lapsed race, which at their first introduction were placed on higher ground than that on which they now stand, and sank by their own act";

discovers in the rocks confirmation of the text respecting "the Lamb slain from the foundations of the world"; dwells on "that moral gravitation towards evil manifested by the only two classes of responsible beings of which there is aught known to man," — one of which we presume to be "that higher race of which this much we at least know, that they long since separated into two great classes, that of 'elect angels,' and of angels that kept not their first estate"! What reliance can be placed even upon the observations of a scientific man, who in the very centre of his book inserts a long chapter on "The Progress of Degradation"? In this episode of the "Footprints," Mr. Miller expatiates with "awful mirth" upon the "aberrant and mutilated" forms of the animal types; "sheep with their forelegs growing out of their necks, ducklings with their wings attached to their haunches," — "the footless serpent which goeth upon its belly," whose "ill-omened birth took place when the influence of its house was on the wane, as if to set a stamp of utter hopelessness on its fallen condition." He instances the poison-bag of the venomous snake as a mark of degradation, and derives immense satisfaction from contemplating the abnormal shapes and inverted development of the "ichthyic tail." The flounder affords him a great deal of encouragement, the poor creature being twisted over upon its side, and accordingly having a horizontal tail, squint eyes, a wry mouth, and an asymmetrical head, with a single polyphemus eye-orbit in the middle of the front part. But we can give no analysis of this extraordinary chapter. Should any of our readers, however, be in search of some grim amusement, we can assure them that they will not be disappointed in Mr. Miller's "geologic history of the ichthyic tail."

Even the author of those truly beautiful lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, Professor Guyot, indulges too often in a strain of preaching which is neither inductive nor seductive, and which impairs the tone of scientific sincerity, while it obscures the thought. Behind many a noble sentence a theological doctrine seems to be lurking.

Moreover, whether owing to preconceived religious opinions or not we will not pretend to judge, the scientific men are not apparently of one mind in regard to

geological facts. Thus, Mr. Miller says: "We know that the several dynasties were introduced, not in their lower, but in their higher forms; — that, in short, in the imposing programme of creation, it was arranged as a general rule, that in each of the great divisions of the procession, the magnates should walk first. We recognize further the fact of degradation specially exemplified in the fish and the reptile."* M. Guyot, on the other hand, speaking of the formation of continents, and the state of things at the Silurian epoch, says: "In each class, from the Radiates to the fishes, which are the highest beings of this primitive creation, the prevailing forms are those that characterize the embryo in the early periods of its development."† And Agassiz expresses himself with still more emphasis. His opinion is, that "these earlier types are embryonic in their character, — that is to say, that they are not only lower in their structure, when compared with the animals now living upon the surface of our globe, but that they actually correspond to the changes which embryos of the same classes undergo during their growth. *This was first discovered among fishes*, which I have shown to present in their earlier types characters which agree in many respects with the changes which young fishes undergo within the egg."‡ Here the Calvinistic *savant* is flatly contradicted upon a point which is of the highest importance to his view of Nature's development, and contradicted by the first authority in his department. In such a case, our judgment does not halt between two opinions.

We are safe in saying that all the fundamental principles bearing upon our present inquiry are by this time fully established. It may now be regarded as an axiom in science, that the law of creation has been a law of development. Progress is the law of life; progress, not even, uniform, and rectilinear, but steady and constant; progress from feeble and rude beginnings onward. Upward, not downward, has been the tendency of Nature from the commencement. One by one, continents and islands were upheaved, and the ocean basins formed. Slowly the climates were constituted. The lower forms

* Footprints, p. 235. † Earth and Man, p. 88.
‡ Lectures on Comparative Embryology, p. 27.

of vegetable existence were the earliest. The inferior degrees of animal life invariably preceded the superior. First came the Mollusks, Crustacea, Radiates, and fishes; next, the reptiles and birds; after these, the mammiferous quadrupeds in all their variety; and lastly, man. The lower precedes the higher. This is the now universally conceded law in the natural world.

To this law the human race is submitted. As the oldest animals of any class corresponded to their lower types as now existing, so the primitive man corresponded to the lower form of his species as existing at the present day. In other words, man began at the beginning, and was at first undeveloped. We do not say that he was a monkey, or a Hottentot, or that he was physically imperfect. The highest type of the human race might have been created first. Not a few eminent naturalists are of this opinion. At all events, man must have been formed physically perfect. He must have been capable of giving birth to men. In other respects, he could not have been other than a child, whose intellectual and spiritual nature was dormant. This is admitted by those who contend that the pure and perfect type was created first in Central Asia, and that the inferior races are corruptions of the original. The primeval man might have belonged to the perfect race, but he could not have been a perfect man; he could have been only the germ and possibility of the perfect man, seeking his growth in the future. Touching the earliest condition of the human species on the earth, geology teaches us nothing. History gives no certain information. If, as is extremely probable, the surface of the globe has undergone terrific convulsions since the appearance of man upon it, then the date of his origin is thrown back ages upon ages beyond the oldest mark of civilization; and we can only infer his primitive state from reason and analogy. According to such reason and analogy, this state must have been very low indeed; a "state of nature" in the meanest sense. With animal organization alone developed, ignorant, unintelligent, unconscious of spiritual faculties or a spiritual destiny, he must have passed a fearful and precarious life among the yet lingering saurians and huge crashing ruminants of the elder world. We state the truth in the mildest form. Some insist that the first man was the

next step above the orang-outang; that he was hardly distinguishable from the brutes; that his very corporeal structure was coarse and misshapen. We will leave this opinion alone. We will suppose that the first man was the progenitor of the noblest race, born in that temperate clime which has always been the seat of the most advanced civilization, thought, and religion; nay, more, we will grant that his stature was full, and his frame well proportioned; — still, we maintain, in the language of Arnold Guyot, that "the physical man, however admirable may be his organization, is not the true man; he is not an aim, but a means; not an end, but a beginning. The law of development is the law of man."

Nature is imperfect. Every product of Nature is imperfect. There is no perfect flower, or shrub, or tree. Men have found it possible "to paint the lily and throw a perfume on the violet," — to educate the rose and train the forest-tree to nobler beauty. Nature exhibits to us nothing but experiments. Her finest fruits are but the tentative efforts of the creative will. Nothing is as fair as it might be, not from being polluted, but from being immature. There is no corruption in Nature. Her very deformities and chasms are full of hope and beneficence. There is mercy in the flame and flood and earthquake. But for poisonous gases, the flinty rocks would never be clothed with verdure. Coal-beds exhibit the relics of ancient and decayed vegetation. Had there been no convulsions of the earth, there would be no dry land, no hills, therefore no rains, no rivers; of course, then, no vegetation. The earth's crust would be reduced to a horizontal plain, and chaos would have been perpetual. Volcanic eruptions aid in the formation of the earth; bring copper, silver, and platinum within the reach of man; create porphyry, marble, and the finer species of stone, and expose the priceless wealth of the mineral kingdom. So far as the properties of things are known, they are merciful. Science has as yet discovered nothing malignant in its nature. Its researches penetrate but more profoundly into the benignity of God. What in olden times was loathed and dreaded, on inquiry proves itself to be endowed with the kindliest intent. Grant that we cannot see the use or the beauty of spiders, cobras, and earwigs; grant that the sculpin and the flounder,

and all the attributes of "the ichthyic tail" are disagreeably suggestive; allow that the cactus might have a more comely stem; even admit the mosquito to be a nuisance; — what then? Must there be a devil in nature? Will nothing serve us but the belief that the natural world is all distorted and depraved? Why things are imperfect, no man can say. Imperfect they certainly are. Corrupt they certainly are not. Upon the most revolting and ghastly phenomena, hope is inscribed, never despair. Every fact which the orthodox theologian brings forward in evidence of a primeval curse, may be interpreted as prophesying a future blessing.

Man likewise, following the analogy of Nature, is imperfect; not evil, nor corrupt, nor depraved, but imperfect. The very word ἁμαρτία, which we translate "sin," means failure, want of success. It is the missing of a mark, the missing of a road. Man fails of his purpose, he goes astray. His nature is as yet untaught. He exhibits only the crude, harsh elements of a spiritual being. He needs time and space for development. He needs education. His turbulent passions, fantastic desires, destructive will, and blind groping affections, his love of self, his violences and animosities, his lurking wiles and stinging spite and crawling lust, his blasting rage and withering jealousy, his barrenness of heart and flinty hardness of soul, — all the humors and vices and unlovely traits that are in him, — argue a nature chaotic, not corrupt; unenlightened, not depraved. They are not proofs of actual sin, but rather indications of ideal righteousness. They do not refer us to a past transgression. They point us onward to a coming glory. The primitive epochs of the soul are marked by convulsions which prepare the atmosphere for serener and holier life. The sturdy common sense of men recognizes this law of advance daily. The boy's tempestuous will is the man's calm power. The stormy passions that now menace shipwreck, will by and by be steady gales of motive force, bearing on the heavily freighted vessel as the trade-wind of the Pacific swept the first navigator, Magellan, round the world. The greedy craving for possession exhibits to us in its most corruptible form the love of knowledge, and even the hunger and thirst after righteousness. The child's de-

structiveness reveals the impatient curiosity that shall one day explore and reconstruct. Eradicate that within us that lusts for pleasure, and you make impossible the prayer for blessedness. Extinguish the rage of ambition, and you quench that divine zeal which burns and aspires after an immortal glory. Man is full of imperfections. He is outgrowing them. As he feels his responsibility, he detests them. But still every part of his nature is rude and incipient. The bands of earth are about him. Ignorance is imperfection of understanding. Perversity is imperfection of reason. Indifference, malice, cruelty, are imperfections of heart. Injustice is imperfection of conscience. Idolatry and superstition are imperfections in the religious sentiment. Man gropes and blunders. His infirmity subjects him to temptation. Through infirmity he falls. Transgression is error. Vice is crudity. War, cannibalism, slavery, are the nonsense of a gigantic baby. The monsters of the species, the Genghis Khans, the Suwarrows, the tyrants, murderers, profligates, and man-stealers, with the whole brood of lustful self-seekers, correspond to the unsightly saurians and vast, ungainly ruminants of the older geological epochs. In the development of mankind, the crustacean miser, the cold-blooded, blear-eyed sceptic, the golden-winged lady, the tenacious conservative or "fogy," the wily deceiver, the man of animal might and rage, hold a place precisely analogous to that of the Crinoids, fishes, insects, Mollusks, reptiles, and beasts in the order of nature. Man is crude, not corrupt. He suffers from no fracture. He exhibits no sign of depravity or lapse.

This view of man does not try to conceal or palliate the heinousness and hideousness of imperfection and crudity. If it declares that evil is imperfection, it as emphatically declares that imperfection is evil. It does not wish to eradicate the feeling of moral indignation. It would rather bring within the range of that feeling emotions and conduct that are commonly reckoned venial. It would practically make heavier, rather than lighter, the sense of guilt, by attaching a solemn responsibility to foibles and defects long deemed indifferent; by making it a religious duty to be perfect, even as the Father in heaven is perfect. No moralist or divine has ever described vice and wickedness in adequate language, even

as no geologist has ever given us a true picture of the grotesque monstrosities and frightful abortions of the oölite, cretacean, and tertiary systems. We demand that the theologian shall paint ignorance, folly, nonsense, passion, sensuality, violence, lust, so that we may see them in all their disgusting proportions and recognize them as detestable; even as we demand of the naturalist that he shall make us feel the length of the iguanodon, and cause us to shudder at the horrible conformation of the pterodactyl. Crookedness of nature is no less abominable when we call it imperfection than when we name it sin. Incompleteness is as detestable as depravity, when recognized as unfaithfulness to the laws of being. The chaos which precedes creation is as gloomy and wild, as a cursed and blackened cosmos. Actuated by the love of perfection, we will work as hard to make the fool wise, as another, moved by the dread of wrath, will work to make the sinner godly. It is worth as many prayers and tears to add another virtue to the good, as to snatch the damned from perdition. To finish a saint is as noble and inspiring a task as to convert a reprobate. Admit the sadness and shame of imperfection. Allow the misery, ay, call it guilt if you please, of stupidity and error, — we must call it guilt, and *feel* it guilt, if we are conscious of our full obligation to God, — still, imperfection is full of hope. It speaks of glory, not of defeat. It suggests a coming beauty, not a beauty that faded centuries ago. The law which passes along qualities from father to son through successive generations is not, as many and most seem to think, a law of decline, dragging downwards, but a law of improvement urging upwards.

If we may believe the testimony of science, Nature is the mother of the primeval man-child. She groans and travails in pain, continually, until the celestial offspring is born. The whole structure of man, corporeal and mental, was originally determined by the character of his birthplace, by the position and conformation of the land, by the temperature of the climate, by all the qualities of the earth and the air. His situation, whether in a polar, temperate, or tropical region, decided his race, and with his race all his characteristics. His destiny as to color, shape, size, direction of power, rested with the Indian or

the Asiatic clime. Nature supplied man with a basis for his activity, stimulus for his energy, material for labor. She educated his senses, developed his organs, furnished him with language, inspired him with thought, fed and unfolded his sense of beauty, taught him wonder and worship through her awful mountains and silent stars; moulded his rough conscience into some uncouth shape of fidelity and rectitude by the pressure of her inexorable law; by her limitless horizon and the deeps of the blue ether, awoke within him a vague sense of infinity; and through the wild forces that grimly sported with him, through the mysterious but significant phenomena which took an ominous interest in his affairs, through the solemn, presageful order of day and night, seed-time and harvest, blight and bloom, and through the unspoken benignity of sunlight and showers, hinted to him the dim and indefinite, the shuddering, smiling thought of God.

In ages primeval, so the geographer tells us, the infant man submitted to the fixed parental authority of Nature. He was timidly subjected to her absolute will. He acknowledged the powers of nature as his gods, to whose mercy he felt himself to be committed, and accepted for his supreme rule the inflexible law which governed the heavenly bodies. The oldest relics of civilization are mementos of man's bondage under the physical world. Painfully did he emancipate himself from the kindly but oppressive servitude. In Oriental Brahminism and Buddhism we behold his first desperate struggle for freedom. In Greece the intellect burst forth with noble, exultant energy. Man's æsthetic nature rejoiced there in a perfect festival of beauty. The old limestone assumed forms of grace. Nature's iron laws were twined with garlands. The ruling sun was a generous hero. Merry nymphs and dryads laid their spells upon the elements, and illumined with their gayety the awful woods. Conscious thought and imagination and feeling began to impose their laws upon the material world. It was the old fable realized, of Europa crowning the bull Jupiter. The rugged Socrates, proud in the liberty of reason, consecrated himself to the work of delivering his countrymen from the servitude of earthly passion and animal desires. He revealed to man the freedom of his intelligence and will.

Glorious Plato proved the capacity of human thought to soar beyond the contemplation of visible things into the realm of pure speculation, and to entertain ideas of God and the soul, unmixed with the grossness and untrammelled by the limitations of time and space. Imperial Aristotle, calm and wise, sat in serene judgment upon Nature, surveyed her forms, weighed her forces, collated and classified her phenomena, questioned her methods, and with regal authority tried her works and ways by the laws of the human mind.

From this point commences man's lordship over Nature. From this point begins the history of free science, spontaneous order, and moral law. Man as an individual slowly emerged from a state of nature into a state of spiritual light and grace. Man as a community abolished hereditary castes and sacerdotal despotisms, and formed societies of freemen, with equal rights and privileges. Nature herself felt the beneficent change. The full-grown son now labors to adorn his ancient mother. The rocks are clothed with verdure, — the once sterile plain is covered with the golden corn. Like a generous steed the wild ocean bounds beneath his rider. The winds follow the navigator's boat. The distant star lights his way across the deep. The caverns of the earth move at his bidding, and lay their treasures at his feet. Every generation beholds the intellectual dominion of man enlarged. But still in all these ages the conquest is not made. Even yet the struggle often seems doubtful. While man appears outwardly to prevail over Nature, inwardly, it may be, Nature prevails over man, stimulating his appetites, and bringing his soul under the bondage of luxury and sloth. It is a close conflict between Nature and man, so long as he puts forth only his animal prowess and his terrestrial intelligence. Not until the soul of man is truly free, not until he lives for truth and justice and charity, not until his own earthly parts are delivered from the bondage of sense into the glorious liberty of the children of God, will Nature gladly confess herself his servant. Then, and not before, will she leap to do his bidding, sending her dove to light upon her anointed one, removing the nettle from his foot, and the beast from his path, and pouring upon him with gratitude her spontaneous fruits.

O. B. F.

Art. VIII.—RICHARDSON'S MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.*

There is a melancholy interest attendant upon the perusal of these volumes, additional to the sombreness of much of their subject-matter. The manuscript journal from which the volumes are printed was sent from the heart of Africa, where the author gave up his life in sacrifice to the noble office of humanity that had called for such devoted efforts from him. He has left yet another honored name to be recorded among the heroic men who have fallen victims to an enterprise abounding in deprivations and perils. Mr. Bayle St. John, who has a high reputation on account of his own well-written and instructive books of Eastern travel, has performed the office of editor for Mr. Richardson's journal, though his modesty has withheld his name from the title-page. We have read the volumes with great care and feel rewarded by their perusal. Probably we could not have taken up a book,—even in these days when volumes which record the most distant journeyings are so abundant,—that would have called before our minds pictures and incidents so strange to us as does this. An explorer in Africa needs to do all but change his nature, and must feel sometimes as if he had passed into another planet. Water is the only article of life which remains the same to him; and even this is made by heat, sediment, impurity, and by its stale, fetid, or brackish character in different places where it is found at all, to be most unlike the pure, refreshing element, which is so copiously furnished to us. What sensations of disgust or discomfort are suggested by such sentences as these, which are gathered from the compass of two pages of Mr. Richardson's journal: "Many started in the night to get water, and give their animals a drink. There is but a small supply, and what there is has a muddy, chocolate color." "The last water we took up

* *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa, performed in the Years* 1850–51, *under the Orders and at the Expense of Her Majesty's Government.* By the late James Richardson, Author of "Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara." London: Chapman & Hall. 1853. Two volumes. 12mo. pp. 343, 359.

from the valleys of Asben had a milky hue." "In summer, it must be very difficult for large caravans to obtain water from this well, for our people were full half a day filling four or five skins. What a blessing, nevertheless, is the existence of this well, for there is no water for three days farther." Then, too, the disuse of most of the kinds of food to which the constitution and the taste have become habituated, and the necessity of subsisting upon vegetables and fruits which may operate medicinally must be often a sore trial to an African traveller. Mr. Richardson frequently hints that he should feel better if he could have a meal of old English viands; but when, after a long deprivation, he partook of some bullock's meat, it affected him unpleasantly, while the chewing of it caused all his gums to bleed. To these trials are to be added those of scorching heat, and sharp, cutting sand-blasts; the disagreable motion of the internal economy caused by riding upon a camel, the effect being like to that of sea-sickness; with the abundance of scorpions and other venomous reptiles. These are some of the annoyances which the African traveller must meet as a creature of flesh and blood.

Then the difficulties of communication by intelligible language in regions whose common speech is so unfamiliar to Europeans, and whose various dialects occasion constant perplexity, amount to such an annoyance as only the most persevering patience can mitigate. It is to be considered, too, that a traveller is on this account precluded from obtaining a large portion of the information that is most desirable to him. Different names are given to the same places by different tribes, and the most inquisitive traveller must be troubled in his attempts to construct itineraries from any central spot, embracing a list of villages lying in the radii of direction towards the capitals of different districts. A day's journey, which, on the average may be reckoned at twenty miles, must be made longer or shorter according to circumstances, the chief of these being the distance between places where there is browsing for camels, and water for man and beast. It is a well-known fact, that the inhabitants of these regions can and do exist for weeks together upon a few dates, and spend from three to five days tasting scarcely a morsel of any thing. A na-

tive never thinks his case desperate when he can pound the bleached bones of the carcass of a camel that has died in the desert, and can mix them into a cake with a few drops of blood drawn from over the eyes of his own living camel. What a touch of the desert there is in the following paragraph!

"One of the nagahs foaled this day, which partly accounts for our detention. For some time afterwards the cries of the little camel for its mother, gone to feed, distressed us, and called to our mind the life of toil and pain that was before the little delicate, ungainly thing. It is worth noticing, that the foal of the camel is frolicsome only for a few days after its birth, — soon becoming sombre in aspect and solemn in gait. As if to prepare it betimes for the rough buffeting of the world, the nagah never licks or caresses its young, but spreads its legs to lower the teat to the eager lips, and stares at the horizon, or continues to browse." — Vol. I. pp. 35, 36.

Well may an explorer of these regions feel that he has entered upon a wholly new life, where all things wear a changed aspect, where his daily food, his speech, his apparel, his experiences, the scenery around him, and the views and customs of those with whom he associates, are wholly unlike to all that he has left behind him. The dreary desert must invest his thought with gloom and melancholy. Mr. Richardson writes: "All vegetation in the desert that is not perfectly new, seems utterly withered by time. There is scarcely any medium between the bud and the dead leaf. Infancy is scorched at once into old age." Our traveller carried with him an absorbing sense of his dependence upon a good Providence to be led over his dangerous way. Though the editor tells us — without assigning any reason for it — that he has "omitted devotional passages" in various places of the journal, he has spared enough to show that Mr. Richardson was a Christian-hearted and a most religious-minded man.

Our traveller, prompted by humanity rather than by ambition, and acting only in a civil capacity, had made known to the British government through Lord Palmerston the object of his intended expedition, for which he asked such public patronage as would invest his enterprise with a diplomatic character. This object was to suppress the slave-trade with all its barbarities in Central

Africa, and thus to strike at that iniquity in the very heart of the region which it desolates, while other agencies are employed upon the coasts. To secure this object, Mr. Richardson well knew that he must substitute some legitimate commercial traffic in its place, and thus treaties of trade with the native princes of the interior became the subsidiary ends of his mission. He was successful in his application to government, and received such pecuniary and diplomatic aid as was necessary to advance his enterprise. He appears to have had the highest personal qualities of judgment, magnanimity, and intellectual attainment, as well as such experience as much travel and considerable intercourse with regions bordering on those he wished to penetrate could give him. His physical constitution was unequal to the trials to which it was subjected. He was in dread of the dysentery, and he fell a victim to the heat of the sun, from which he had previously suffered much.

Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg, two Prussian gentlemen, volunteered to accompany Mr. Richardson as scientific observers, and were accepted by him. They had parted from him temporarily, shortly before his death, to make excursions aside from his main route, so that he yielded to the last summons uncheered by the presence of either of them. They pursued their explorations in and around Bornou; but Dr. Overweg, after laborious efforts in his enterprise, has recently died.

The party started from Tripoli on March 30, 1850. Their route was through the Great Sahara and the previously unexplored region of Aheer, or Asben, to Bornou, with whose Sultan they were to make a commercial treaty to be ratified by the Queen of England. Mr. Richardson, who daily jotted down the memoranda from which these volumes are printed, gives us a most graphic description of the caravan, of its human, its semi-human, and its non-human elements. He does not, indeed, offer an inventory of the goods which constituted the burdens of the camels, but from the incidental mention all along his route of the materials which constituted the presents made by him, or which were used to satisfy the extortionate rapacity of marauders who demanded black mail, we can infer that he had a well-selected cargo for "the ships of the wilderness." A boat had been constructed

for him in two parts, at the government dock-yards in Malta, for the navigation of Lake Tchad. It was found necessary to subdivide these two parts, so that they might be carried in strong nets by the camels. This boat reached its destination, — for what will not human ingenuity and patience accomplish, — and is now in possession of the Sultan of Bornou. Powder and shot, flags, tents, mattresses, rugs, a writing-table, potted soups (which, however, seem to have disappeared), medicines, paper, books, looking-glasses, toys, mock jewelry, large quantities of loaf-sugar, tea, coffee, champagne, and spirit, silks and calicoes, and sundry other commodities, were thus transported over the desert. From Tripoli, the route lay over the Hamadah, a dreary and difficult plateau, to Mourzuk, the capital of Fezzan. Here the British government is represented by a consul, in the person of Mr. Gagliuffi, a Levantine, with whose official and mercantile character Mr. Richardson does not seem to have been pleasantly impressed. He describes a transient stay in this melancholy and ruinous city of mud and straw, and gives us some anticipations of the annoyances and perils which beset him on his further way. He had left his wife at Tripoli, and he availed himself of each passing caravan on his route to send messages to her and his government.

The traveller's next stage led him across the plains of Fezzan to the Ghât country, a wild way, but still offering some interest in incident and scenery. As a constant connection is kept up between the state of Ghât and the northern coast of Africa, by caravans transporting slaves, elephants' teeth, dates, indigo, senna, and other articles of traffic, mercantile relations may be said to be there established, and an adventurer is comparatively safe. From the Ghât country, Mr. Richardson felt that his way was to be one of many difficulties and dangers. The wildest tribes of the interior of Africa are pagans, but a certain sort of Mussulmans lie between them and the northern and eastern coast. No Christian had ever before penetrated to the regions which Mr. Richardson succeeded in reaching. In one place he evidently felt that he was in fact a prisoner, and had but a faint hope that he would be allowed to leave it. As it is often well to know what others think of us, we will

extract a passage showing with what a holy horror Christians are regarded by some of the most indifferent disciples of the false prophet Mahomet: —

"From the report of Ibrahim, the Germans' servant, it would seem that the people of Tintalous [where the party then were] believe that Christians eat human beings; and further, from what I hear, this strange prejudice possesses the minds of the lower classes in many countries of Soudan. Such are the opinions of the semi-barbarians of Africa respecting us and our boasted civilization! There is much to be done yet in the world, before mankind know one another, and acknowledge one another as brethren." — Vol. I. pp. 333, 334.

To reach Soudan proper, Mr. Richardson took his course through the unexplored region of Aheer, on the southern border of Sahara. Constant alarms attended his way. It is surprising to note how soon news traverses even these wilderness regions. The report that three Christians were entering the country excited the barbarous tribes of Haghar or Azgher with various feelings. Some were anxious to assail the expedition for predatory purposes. Others imagined that the travellers were going "to write the country," i. e. to make such observations as would facilitate an inroad for its subjugation. Under the name of "presents," a desert synonyme for exactions, articles of use and finery were from time to time dispensed to the more troublesome acquaintances made along the route. A report of an intended attack had reached the ears of Mr. Richardson, and naturally caused him painful anxiety. Yet in the vicinity of the spot where it was expected, he makes this record: —

"Here we found our dates left by the Tanelkums [sent on ahead to relieve the burdens on the camels of the travellers] in the side of a mound of sand, with a piece of rotten wood stuck up to mark the place. Had they been, however, exposed by the side of the well, and a hundred caravans had passed, no one would have touched them. It is a point of honor to steal nothing thus confided in the desert. Mutual interest suggests mutual forbearance." — Vol. I. pp. 187, 188.

The party passed safely through these perils, and reached Tintalous in the Aheer territory on the 4th of September, after having been once subjected to a severe

levy on their goods, a predatory act which Mr. Richardson determined should be redressed. At Tintalous, which seems to have been midway between a town and an encampment, he put himself under the protection of the Sheikh En-Noor, one of the chiefs or sultans of the Kailouee tribes. This dirty old beggar lived in a sort of shabby royalty, and seems to have been possessed of considerable shrewdness. One of the German gentlemen was employed as a physician to go to the mud palace for the relief of the royal consort, who had been pounded into a jelly by her lord because of the length of her tongue. Mr. Richardson was compelled, much against his will, to remain at Tintalous from September 4th to the end of November. He gives us most graphic and original descriptions of his forlorn state of life in this dreary abode. The chief incidents were visits to and from the Sheikh, who was old and rheumatic. At first his Highness was reserved and jealous, but at last he became familiar, and evidently conceived quite a liking for his visitor, and for his tea, coffee, and sugar. After Mr. Richardson had thus prepared the way, he thought it wise to secure in a commercial treaty the influence of a chief whose authority was paramount in Aheer. He therefore prepared a treaty on the part of the Queen, which he wrote in English, his interpreter putting it into Arabic, and having caused his intentions to be made known to En-Noor, and taking with him a sword, he proceeded to the palace with some anxiety. We may say in passing, that a similar treaty was entered into after Mr. Richardson's death, by his companions, with the Sultan of Bornou. We extract the account of the interview with En-Noor:—

"We found the Sultan in company with half a dozen people; he received us in a very friendly manner, and really seemed on this occasion to be what he professes to be,—the friend and consul of the English. I explained to him, that we certainly had this treaty ready for him, and intended to have presented it to him on our arrival; but on account of our sufferings, and the robberies committed on us, and seeing the country in a state of revolution, I had no heart to present to his Highness any thing from the Queen of England. However, now that things were more settled, and as I saw there was authority in the country, I had much pleasure in proposing for his signature a treaty from our

government. At the same moment, as an incentive, I presented the sword (a small naval officer's sword, with a good deal of polished brass and gilding about it, of the value, at most, of five pounds). To my great satisfaction, his Highness accepted both treaty and present, with ardent manifestations of pleasure. He made me read the document in English, to hear the sound of our language; and he also desired me to leave with him an English copy. This we did, with some explanation of the contents, in an Arabic letter on the back. We then took our copy in Arabic. The sword pleased him greatly, on account of its lightness, for he is an old man, not very strong; and because it glittered with gold. We wrote the maker's name in Arabic, and gave directions to have it well preserved." — Vol. I. pp. 320, 321.

Mr. Richardson's detention at Tintalous was evidently tedious to him, but he beguiled the time by making such observations as the means within his reach afforded for learning the character of the people. His delay was protracted by the intention of En-Noor to accompany the Great Salt Caravan which annually goes from Bilma southward, through Aheer; and as this arrangement seemed to afford the promise of some facilities to the traveller, he looked forward to it with anxiety. At length he resumed his journey under the escort of the old Sultan. His recognition of the associations of the Christmas festival on his way, shows something of the heart-sickness of a wanderer, and his devotional utterances are here allowed by the editor to appear in all their warmth. On the 11th of January, 1851, he parted with Drs. Barth and Overweg, who had undertaken to make some difficult journeys in lateral directions. The promise of correspondence, and the hope of a reunion after two months, were the only things to cheer Mr. Richardson, over whose mind was already creeping the presentiment of calamity. He never saw either of those gentlemen again. Some moments of depression he beguiled by reading Milton, of whose poems he carried with him a pocket edition. He expresses his regret that he had not a copy of Shakspeare. The uniform aspect of the villages which he passed, composed of beehive-shaped cabins of stone and mud, and filled with squalid inmates, soon wearied upon his eye, and he found relief in any thing which, like a poem or a drama, would draw his thoughts from Africa. His representations of the

state and the treatment of the women, though conveyed with a delicacy which proves his own high moral sense and principle, are almost too painful for perusal. From the remarks which constantly fall from him, it would appear that a good supply of medicines, especially of emetics and purgatives of a most violent character, would be the most suitable stock for all future explorers of Central Africa to take with them. Mr. Richardson was beset from morning to night with applicants for medical treatment, and what is the more remarkable, the greater number of them seemed to be in perfect health. They desired "something that would take hold of them." Any recommendation of a dietetic treatment, or of bathing, which would be gradual and slow in effecting any result, was distasteful to them. They regarded medicine as working like a charm, and wished to be conscious of its instantaneous operation. Epsom salts found especial favor. Our traveller speaks of having seen the castor-oil or castor-bean tree on his route, but he does not say whether its virtues were known to the natives.

After many tedious delays, Mr. Richardson reached Zinder, where he experienced considerable relief from his anxieties. The barbaric Sultan, Sarkee Ibrahim, received him very kindly. The presents which he brought were accepted with gratitude, and slight returns were made to him. He was now surrounded by those whose Mahometan faith sat more loosely upon them, and who consequently had not such a horror of an infidel as had the vagabonds in whose precious company the traveller had passed some nine months. But it was only in the sense of personal security, and in the sight of a richer luxuriance of the soil and its products, that Mr. Richardson found relief and more pleasurable experiences. The Sultan of Zinder was a sad specimen of the atrocious morals of the chiefs of Central Africa. He was overwhelmed with debts, which he was in the habit of discharging from time to time by hunting down the subjects of his own tributary sovereign.

Mr. Richardson's further progress was delayed while this barbarian went upon one of his inhuman expeditions, to cancel with the fruits of it the demands of some of his importunate creditors. He had three hundred wives, one hundred sons, and fifty daughters. We write of him

in the past tense, not knowing indeed but that he still flourishes in all his enormities; but the only relief, in being obliged to chronicle the doings of such fiends as this African chief, is in speaking of them as of things that were and are not now. Our traveller shall describe the scene which he saw when this scoundrel returned from his raid:—

"A cry was raised early this morning, 'The Sarkee is coming!' Every one went out eagerly to learn the truth. It turned out that a string of captives, fruits of the *razzia*, was coming in. There cannot be in the world — there cannot be in the whole world — a more appalling spectacle than this. My head swam as I gazed. A single horseman rode first, showing the way, and the wretched captives followed him, as if they had been used to this condition all their lives. Here were naked little boys running alone, perhaps thinking themselves upon a holiday; near at hand dragged mothers with babes at their breasts; girls of various ages, some almost ripened into womanhood, others still infantine in form and appearance; old men bent double with age, their trembling chins verging towards the ground, their poor old heads covered with white wool; aged women tottering along, leaning upon long staffs, mere living skeletons; — such was the miscellaneous crowd that came first; and then followed the stout young men, ironed neck to neck!* This was the first instalment of the black bullion of Central Africa; and as the wretched procession huddled through the gateways into the town, the creditors of the Sarkee looked gloatingly on through their lazy eyes, and calculated on speedy payment.

"The slaves had only come in to the number, it was said, of some two or three thousand during the day. I have been told positively that the poor old creatures brought in with the other captives will not fetch a shilling a head in the slave-market. It is therefore a refinement of cruelty not to let them die in their native homes, — to tear them away to a foreign soil, and subject them to the fatigues of the journey, and the insults of a rude populace, and ruder and crueller slave-dealers. Many die on the road during the two or three days' march. It is exceedingly painful to live in a place like Zinder, where almost every householder has a chained slave. The poor fellows (men and boys) cannot walk, from the manner in which the irons are put on, and when they move about are obliged to do so in little jumps.

* Mr. Richardson mentions the occurrence of an iron mine, and the appearance of rude smithies, whose artisans showed their chief skill in forging fetters.

These slaves are ironed that they may not run away. There are many villages and towns a few days from Zinder, to which they can escape without difficulty, and where they are not pursued. It was exceedingly horrifying to hear the people of Zinder salute the troops of the *razzia*, on their return, with the beautiful Arabic word *Alberka!* 'Blessing!' Thus is it that human beings sometimes ask God for a blessing on transactions which must ever be stamped with his curse. The Italian bandit also begs the Virgin to bless his endeavors. It is evident that nothing but the strong arm of power and conquest will ever root out the curse of slavery from Africa." — Vol. II. pp. 205–207.

The following extract gives us another phase of the same dark object: —

"At dusk there was a hue and cry near our house. I ran out to see what it was: the noise and stir was nothing less than an attempt of a slave to escape. The poor fellow was surrounded by a mass of men and boys, all anxious to seize him and deliver him to his master, to obtain the reward. My sympathies certainly begin to cool when I see the conduct of these blacks to one another. The blacks are, in truth, the real active men-stealers, though incited thereto frequently by the slave-merchants of the North and South. It must be confessed, that, if there were no white men from the North and South to purchase the supply of slaves required out of Africa, slavery would still flourish, though it might be often in a mitigated form; and this brings me to the reiteration of my opinion, that only foreign conquest, by a power like Great Britain or France, can really extirpate slavery from Africa." — Vol. II. pp. 274, 275.

Among the incidental labors to which Mr. Richardson devoted himself all along his route, and especially during the intervals of long delay to which he was subjected, was the preparation of vocabularies for a commercial dictionary. He frankly confesses that he had no aptitude for scientific observations. The beasts and birds and reptiles which he encountered are cursorily referred to, and the geology of the regions which he traversed is mentioned. But he left to his companions what was to them the congenial labor of scientific comparison and record on all such matters. Astronomical appearances are frequently noted by him with enthusiasm, and he made daily entries of thermometrical changes. Still, his absorbing interest was one almost exclusively of humanity. His persuasion was clear and strong, that only such in-

tercourse as had the excitement of legitimate commercial traffic could ever be the means of opening Africa to the blessings of Christian civilization, and of suppressing the barbarities of which it is now the scene. Furnished at Tripoli with the best interpreter whom he could engage in his service, he himself was anxious on all occasions to be his own spokesman, and finding that the language of signs was greatly relied upon, he made that language the medium of much of his intercourse with the natives of Africa. Through inquiries pursued with much patience, and by comparing reports from different informants, he has left several itineraries which must be of use to all who shall follow him. The other papers of his which have been sent to England will doubtless be given to the world through the geographical or ethnological societies of Great Britain.

The last entry made in his journal is under date of February 21, 1851. It closes with this sentence: "Thermometer at sunset, 82°; weather very troublesome today, blowing hot and cold with the same breath." This sentence probably indicates the proximate cause of the death of this intrepid and excellent man, near the heart of Africa, away from all dear scenes, uncheered by the attendance of Christian friendship; yet not without such solace as the respect of those around him, and, above all, the sweet reliance of Christian faith, could impart. He had reached Ungurutua, which is about six days' journey from Kuka, the capital of Bornou, where he died on the 4th of March, 1851. On the 25th of the month, Dr. Barth, while pursuing his own explorations, having accidentally heard the melancholy intelligence from a shereef whom he met on his way, rode to Ungurutua with all possible haste, to learn what particulars he could, and to secure the papers and effects of the deceased. A letter written by Dr. Barth to Mr. Crowe, the British Consul-General at Tripoli, communicates such facts as he could learn, under date of April 3, 1851. Mr. Richardson became ill a few days before reaching Ungurutua, and, as his servant said, took several different kinds of medicine, indicating thus a general prostration, the specific nature of which was unknown to himself. After making great effort, and appearing to rally a little, on reaching the village where he closed his days, he told his dragoman that

he should die, and with seeming imprudence he poured water over his body, to counteract the bad effect of which his servants rubbed him with oil. After taking a little food in the evening, he sunk into a restless sleep, during which he called his wife several times by name. He again rose from his bed, and with the assistance of his servant walked out, but returned only to seek his bed and to die shortly after midnight. It is a relief to think that the lonely wanderer had no long, wasting decline, in a poor African hut, but was allowed to breathe the open air but a few hours before his spirit was released. The tokens of a patient and an heroic nature, and the manifest evidences of an excellent heart and of a noble purpose, which are discernible through his journal, have engaged our admiration and our sympathies as we have perused it. The melancholy impression with which we leave its pages is cheered only by the thought, that his name and sacrifices will be held in long regard, and that his painful experiences will contribute to alleviate the necessary labors by which others are to follow him in a noble enterprise.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A Centurial History of the Mendon Association of Congregational Ministers, with the Centennial Address, delivered at Franklin, Mass., Nov. 19, 1851, *and Biographical Sketches of the Members and Licentiates.* By Rev. Mortimer Blake. Boston: Published for the Association, by Sewall Harding. 12mo. pp. 348.

The history of an Association of which Dr. Emmons was, for more than half a century, the most influential member, is, from that very fact, well worthy of notice. We might expect to find it more homogeneous in its doctrinal character than other New England clerical bodies of similar age. The orthodoxy of such a brotherhood should be of the truest stamp and pattern. Our expectation is abundantly verified by the sketches of the book before us. Out of one hundred and seventy-seven ministers

whose lives are briefly noticed, not more than three or four are recorded as guilty even of the heresy of inclining to Arminian opinions; and if one or two actually lapsed into Arianism, the fact is not mentioned. Of most, it is joyfully affirmed that they were sound and unwavering in all the comfortable doctrines of the old New England Theology (by some in this day profanely styled the New Divinity), and dispensed to their hearers the sincere milk of the word; which milk, says Mr. Blake (p. 36), "was precisely the doctrines now called strong meat, — entire depravity, special grace, electing love."

The work which Mr. Blake has here given to the world was assigned to him by vote of the Association. He has performed it with great diligence and patience, and, on the whole, with remarkable accuracy. The errors which we have noticed are few and unimportant. Nearly four fifths of the volume are occupied by the biographical notices of members and licentiates. Most of these, of course, are very short, and state facts in the most concise manner. Where so many were to be given, one could not enlarge even upon the more distinguished names. Of the seventy-seven members of the Association during the century, only a few, as we judge from these sketches, were remarkable men, and of the one hundred licentiates not members of the Association, still fewer. Most of them were, or still are, quiet pastors in the smaller towns, or for some cause have retired from the pastoral office, though continuing to preach. Scarcely a dozen have been honored with the D. D., the "semi-lunar fardels," as Dr. Cox called them.

Dr. Emmons, however, was a host in himself, and there can be little doubt that the commanding influence of such a powerful thinker swayed the opinions, the system, and the spirit of the whole body. They seem generally to have adopted the leading features of his theology, and to have regarded it as the saving grace of the Puritan pulpit; — though henceforth, we may presume, in the light which Dr. Cox has thrown upon its damnable heresies, they will see the error of their way, and sternly repudiate it. Less is said of his influence in the Association than we should expect, — as to how he managed their meetings, and how he decided their disputes. In fact, the most interesting chapter in the history is entirely left out, that which should give us the style, temper, and general characteristics of the discussions. It is quite provoking to read the long list of interesting questions, on every variety of subject, theological, ethical, critical, and practical, — from "clerical etiquette" to the nature of God, from "signing off in a parish" or "sitting in prayer" up to the Millennium, — without a word to tell what arguments, illustrations, or inspirations accompanied the treatment of these questions. How

pleasant must have been that talk on "the best method of constructing a sermon"! How profound the metaphysics which could find whether "God may reward men in time and punish them in eternity for the same actions"! How refreshing to puzzled believers to have the judgment of Dr. Emmons on the question, "Will the First and Third Persons in the Trinity ever be visible to saints in heaven?" Why can we not, in a second edition, have some of the statements at quite recent discussions, on such subjects as "Is God *necessarily* a good being"? "Should a pastor leave a notice to be read by an exchange, which he would not give himself?" "The nature of the unpardonable sin"; "Is it right for a man to marry his paternal half-brother's daughter?" "Is there a succession of exercises in the Divine mind?" We are curious to see what kinds of learning or philosophy were used in the handling of questions like these. The theory of Emmonsism, if adequate to the settlement of all the casuistry and ethical paradoxes recorded in the long list of questions here given, might well pass as a universal religious panacea. A specimen or two of the style of exegesis of some of those threescore *texts* would not come amiss. But, alas! we have nothing but the prefatory Sermon of Mr. Blake to help us in this direction; and if the views of that discourse are to be taken as the residuum of the fraternal discussions of the Mendon Association, perhaps it is better that their doors should remain unopened.

We should judge that the Association, though holding at no time more than four meetings in a year, was a hard-working body. The "Orders of the Day" would appall some of our clerical societies. There must have been a fair share of solid learning, both Biblical and historical, for Dr. Calvin Park and Dr. Ide were members; and there could have been no lack of rich humor in a body to which Mr. Howe of Hopkinton belonged. If the sketches of a few of these more conspicuous members had been a little more full and personal, it would have added to the interest of the book. We could well spare, for the sake of such sketches, the family records of so many less gifted brethren, which Mr. Blake must have been at great pains to procure. As it is, however, the book will be attractive and valuable to numbers who find here recorded their own names or the names of their friends, and will remain an honorable testimony to the compiler's impartial desire to do justice to all.

The Anniversary Sermon of Mr. Blake, with which the volume opens, is written in a strong, clear, and ornate, though not always correct or graceful style, and is orthodox enough to suit the most zealous. Its opening propositions sound strangely to ears accustomed to hear of the Gospel as a message of mercy. "That ministry," says Mr. Blake, "*despises* God which repre-

sents the plan of Redemption to be a device chiefly of God's pity to men." There are occasional innuendoes, which are meant, we suppose, for somebody, though we are not told who; — as where it is said that "some who love to boast of a Puritanic descent for the sake of their legacies, studiously *obliviate* [is that word in Webster?] the fact of the high Calvinism" of the old Puritan ministers. We do not think that the quoted extract from President Oakes seriously impairs the statement of President Quincy, which Mr. Blake also quotes, slightly mutilating the Latin. Some sentences strike us as queer, as where we read that "unregenerate doings became the key to open the kingdom of heaven," and "the Holy Spirit, thus deprived of his office-work, returned for a season to heaven." There is some confusion of metaphor, as where he speaks about the *salient points*, the *faces*, and the *sparkling* of "the pearl of great price." Can it be Dr. Chauncy that is meant by the leader who "stopped not in his haste, till he reached the middle of the great desert of Universalism"? The sentence is enigmatical as it now stands.

Mr. Blake's estimate of the Unitarian faith is evidently not derived from any acquaintance with the works of Unitarians. It seems that we "stumble" and "dream" in "misty regions." He repeats the thrice-refuted falsehood of a Unitarian conspiracy to undermine the foundations of the Gospel by driving out the churches from their lawful possessions, and his language in this connection is not complimentary to our body. His advice to his Orthodox brethren, however, is excellent, and shows a sound understanding of the sources of their power as ministers of grace. We could not expect from one who loves high Calvinism so well, an intelligent view of liberal Christianity. Judged from the standpoint of Dr. Emmons, we certainly are perverse, blind, and given over to depravity of heart. It is our consoling hope, however, that the Father of spirits will be guided in his judgment by a broader theory than that of the Mendon Association.

At the close of the volume are several carefully prepared tables, showing the longevity and period of pastoral tenure and ministerial service of the various ministers mentioned in the foregoing pages. Those who have time to examine them will find them very useful and instructive.

Interviews Memorable and Useful; from Diary and Memory reproduced. By Samuel Hanson Cox, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 325.

An addition to the Curiosities of Literature: and a rich and

unique addition it is. We should think that even the types from which it was printed must ache from the effort to produce it; their usefulness in the publication of any thing like a grammar or a dictionary must certainly have been greatly impaired for the future. Once, indeed, the worthy author seems to have been moved to apologize for his most extraordinary dealings with our mother tongue. It is when he vindicates Paul from having been influenced by "a spasmodic rabies of transcendental rodomontade and stultiloquent benevolence, after his regeneration." The excuse is, that these strange words are used to express "a stranger and a more uncouth specimen of thought." We are bound to admit that the excuse is a valid one for our author. Not satisfied with playing all sorts of pranks in the collection of words and the piling up of epithets, the Doctor invents words at pleasure, and speaks of things that are not as though they were. He runs the English language entirely out of breath, and then contrives to keep in excellent good wind himself, leading to the inference that the said wind is a very essential ingredient in him. We suppose the same fact must be admitted to be true of every one, but there is a diversity in the manifestations of it.

Were it not for the real, hearty good nature and the kindliness of spirit which often gleam through the pages of this book, and its occasional scintillations of wit, and the shrewd worldly wisdom of which at times it gives evidence, the book would serve as a specimen of the most intolerable arrogance, frothiness, and — something else — that ever compressed themselves into one volume. Not a trace of malice, however, appears in it. We should be perfectly content to be judged by the genial-hearted author in every other category except a theological one; but in that we should expect no mercy, for as he is sure that he is right, he would be bound to think us wrong. He regards it as his misfortune to live in a terribly wicked world; yet as the world is filled with mercies and good things, he holds it as on the whole desirable that these blessings should be appropriated, and lest they should all fall into the hands of the sinners, he is willing to accept a share of them. His book gives us an impression of its having been written by what is called "a comfortable liver," with considerable benignity of aspect. We should not be surprised, either, if this benignity of aspect and kindness of heart were accompanied by a bearing not of the meekest. It really is a misfortune that some divines in metropolitan circles are educated to pomposity and conceit, and are inflated withal by the sense of having a certain sort of power over a certain sort of people; — of being held as oracles by those with whom wordiness and fustian pass for wisdom. Dr. Cox's good sense has doubtless secured him from falling a victim to this kind of spiritual

arrogance, but we cannot but conclude that he thinks of himself full as highly as "he ought to think." By his own account, he imparted some new light from the kindling of some old straw in dialectics to Dr. Chalmers, and confounded Dr. Emmons and Moses Stuart in metaphysics and exegesis, and worsted John Quincy Adams in argument, to say nothing of his victory over two Latter-Day Saints, or of the amazement which he excited in "a fashionable lady." As dead men tell no tales, we may never have the other side of either of the interviews here recorded. But none the less have we certain misgivings in each case. It is a somewhat significant fact that the Doctor, as if in dread of all dramatic inventions, instead of distinguishing the interlocutors in his dialogues by their names, uses figures, and he himself always figures as *Number One.* Whether it be Dr. Chalmers, or Dr. Emmons, or John Quincy Adams, or the fashionable lady, with whom he is conversing, they must equally be content to speak in their turn, as *Number Two*, or thus, 2. But we will waive the inference that might uncharitably be drawn from a method which always makes our divine Number One, and will account the phenomenon to the similarity in type between the personal pronoun in the first person singular nominative, and the sign for the unit in numbers. There is, however, one other matter which our charity can hardly cover. The aforesaid comfortable sensations of Dr. Cox extend to a full assurance that he is one of the elect. Hell and perdition are themes of very frequent recognition by him. But some Presbyterian alchemy has wrought an effect in him which insures him from all risk of what those words imply. Now we have settled with ourselves this conviction, that the feelings of a man who believes that he has barely escaped that fearful doom, must come very near in intensity and solemnity to the feelings of another man, who dreads lest he suffer it. Consequently, a believer in it will ever speak of it with a profound and awe-struck seriousness. Wherever that doom is spoken of as glibly as it is by Dr. Cox, besides being pained, we are forced to distrust the sincerity of the speaker. He is just as liable to incur that dread penalty as is the Pope of Rome, or any prelatist, or Mormon, or Universalist to whom he assigns it. We are forced to admit that there are those who believe in that eternity of inflicted woe. But whenever we are conversing with a professed believer in it, we always make our confidence in his sincerity conditional upon his evident fear that he stands the same risk concerning it that we do. Dr. Cox asks concerning John Quincy Adams, whether he is among the ransomed. We would suggest that the Doctor leave the Ex-President in the hands of his Maker, and look after himself, for he seems to have some of "the old man" in him still.

But we must give some more particular account of the book before us. Each of the subjects which form its contents, as well as the title-page, is enriched by a profusion of mottoes, heathen and Christian, Scriptural and classical, accredited and anonymous, some among the last class being, perhaps, from the pen of the Doctor himself. Then we have a Dedication, entitled "Inscription — Preliminary Reflections," by which the work is inscribed to twelve "Ruling Elders," — these old-fashioned non-entities, as our readers may not all be aware, having still a name to live in some part of this country. The dedication reaches over the inordinate space of twenty-three pages; but considering that this allows not quite two pages to each of the dozen who are to share in the compliment, the thing is not in itself unreasonable. The author cautions them, however, against their interpreting their own number into any parallel between themselves and a coroner's jury, or the twelve patriarchs or apostles, or the twelve elders in the Apocalypse. With a frank confession that he draws on his memory, — and if he had told the whole truth he would doubtless have added, on his imagination and invention too, — and does not reproduce a strictly authentic record of his own or of his interlocutors' sayings in certain memorable interviews, he at once relieves our minds of all doubt in the case. He rather unguardedly hints a resemblance between his plan in the volume and the structure of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. We think he might have found closer parallels with some works of an imaginative character. Perhaps "Old Bozzy" would in some respects have answered the emergency.

The "Inscription" to the Twelve Elders is a piece of racy reading, sparkling with vivacity and quaintness. The Transcendentalists, Papists, and Puseyites come in for equal measurements of its severity, but they will be as much amused as displeased by its invectives. If there is any thing in this sinful world that the good Doctor seems to hate even with an ungodly bitterness, it is a *prelatist*, either full grown or in the incipient stages of *deacon*, *rector*, or *priest*, while a *Puseyite* is to him the quintessence of all humbug. From an anecdote that we have heard, we infer that the Doctor does not number it as among the felicities of his repute in the Presbytery, that a son of whom he hoped better things has become a champion of "*The Church*."

Dr. Cox next gives us an account of two interviews with the honored Dr. Chalmers. Though Number One fills by much the more important place in these interviews, we must confess that we have found instruction and rich amusement in them. When Dr. Cox is not telling us something about others, he kindly tells us something about himself, and so we are sure to learn more or less about human nature on every page. It is no part

of our plan in noticing his volume to forestall the pleasure of a reader in its perusal, so we abstain from picking out the funny passages. We confess that we should be delighted to read any record of these interviews which Dr. Chalmers may have made on his own part. We will be bound for it, that he realized that he had an original specimen to deal with. Dr. Chalmers was, of course, anxious to learn from his visitor the particulars of the rupture in the Presbyterian sect in this country. We ourselves never could reach exactly the root of that matter. If strong words and severe epithets could explain it, Dr. Cox would afford considerable help in that way, but as his phrases merely prove that he is terribly angry about it, he only confuses us the more. The reader is welcome to the following extract of a portion of the blessing which Dr. Cox pronounces on the Old School: — "We believe that their order is frigid and Antinomian; that it is fitting more for politics and jesuitry, than moral government and the true glories of the grand mediatorial system; that it makes the obstructions and the objections that it finds; that they cannot preach it, pray it, or read it in the Bible; that it is no friend to the flight of the angel of missions; that it is starved, cramped, collapsing, and soon to be a buried mummy in the tomb of the Capulets, for the resurrection of doom, or for no resurrection at all." (p. 102.)

The next incident recorded in the Coxiana is an interview with the famous and venerable Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, one of those Protestant Popes, of whom there were several in New England in the last generation, who, by dint of a crude metaphysical system and an iron dogmatism, and the facilities afforded by having many pupils to educate for the ministry when there were no theological schools, attained great spiritual sway. On the basis of such an influence, helped out by the cliques or parties which they generated, the repute of a few such was extended over a valley, a county, or a State, as the case might be.

Dr. Cox says: "Among other aspects of character, I was wont to view Dr. Emmons as a very unique person, and so as an intellectual, moral, and theological curiosity." We apprehend that the interview witnessed the meeting of two such persons. Our author gives a most graphic and lively description of his visit. The colloquy instantly took a theological turn, and Number One represents himself as having won the victory, so that Number Two had to confess, "Why, I am wrong; surely I am wrong, Sir." The victory was certainly a cheap one, for, according to the record, it was secured thus. Dr. Emmons maintained that there is no distinction between selfishness and self-love, and threw down the gauntlet there. *Number One* quoted the pre-

cept, "'*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*'; that is, supplying the ellipsis, *as thou lovest thyself*. Dr. Emmons maintains: Thou shalt not love thyself at all, for that is sin: self-love and selfishness are both the same, and each is only sin. Inference: Thou shalt not love thy neighbor at all, for that is sin." *Number Two* asks, 'Why, how is that? Go over it again.'" *Number One* complies, but compels Dr. Emmons, as we have mentioned, to give in as beat. (pp. 161, 162.) One of the before mentioned Ruling Elders comes into good service in this case, for Dr. Cox, under the wholly needless apprehension that some reader might discredit his statement of the marvellous result of this interview, has procured the attestation of that dignitary, who happened to be present. Our author told Dr. Emmons a piece of his own experience as follows: — "Some of the most selfish ministers I ever knew, so viewed by all their brethren, had adopted your system *con amore*, and were so given to prate professionally against self-love, and in commendation of their moon-struck abstraction of disinterested benevolence, that it became with them at once a hobby, a dotage, and a degradation, as of them a proverb of scorn." (p. 167.)

He adds in another place: — "I subjoin the remark, that Emmonsism is a dreary, an isolating, preëminently an unjoyous, and a comfortless system. The coldest and the most dissocial religionists I have ever known, preachers and people, in the ranks of the orthodox; the most incapable of private friendship, and the most destitute of the social and the domestic loves and sympathies, their humanities and their home-born affections all exsiccated and precluded and gone, I have seen, known, and marked among this especial class, as properly of them. I could distinctly trace their frigidity, their rigidity, and their aridity, to the system that formed their characters. It has almost ruined them for all amiableness and all usefulness. I could give instances and names." (pp. 209, 210.)

Incidentally too, "our Baptist sages" come in for a compliment, in this interview, for insisting that ἀπό means *out of* the water, instead of *from it;* for the sake of "the precious piety and luxury of a total submersion in the wave of the Jordan; as the whole charm of their lamentable blunder, and their blinding self-commitment, and their shameful schism, and their fatiguing childishness." (p. 206.)

We come next to an interview with John Quincy Adams while he was President of the United States. It occurred during the passage in a steamboat and a ride in the coach from New York to Boston through Providence. Dr. Cox, being then a young divine, appears to have stuck close to his distinguished fellow-traveller. As usual, he is *Number One*, and of course carries

off the victory. We happen, however, to have heard a report of the colloquy, as coming from the other party to it, though we will not go beyond the book before us by any description of it. Any one who has the least knowledge of the character and attainments of the late "sage of Quincy," and especially of his profound theological information and of his practised skill in controversy, will laugh at the very idea of a man of Dr. Cox's calibre getting the better of him in an argument on any matter of divinity. If he allowed the young disputant his free range, it was probably either in courtesy, or for the amusement he could get out of him on a tedious journey. The Dr. says: "I was certainly not intentionally deficient in respect for him in all his public relations: though I knew of others, and those the highest, where it was my edified conviction, that, like an ancient Oriental emperor, he was *weighed in the balance and found wanting.*" (p. 219.) This qualifying proviso was not unnecessary, considering that the Dr. says that he described the class of Christians to whom Mr. Adams belonged in these words, and to the very face of that gentleman: — "I mean those that belong only to the school of Cain, — that old founder of a religion without a Saviour; that first desperado that undertook to worship without a Mediator, without an atonement, without faith in our Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous, who is the propitiation for our sins." (p. 239.) That President Adams was not long in guaging the contents of a brain that produced such stuff as this, our readers will need no assurance from us. The Dr. says: "It was my own opinion that the truth affected Mr. Adams more than he appeared directly to indicate." (p. 246.) Probably so: only *the truth* was of a little different sort from what this witness imagined. *Number One* doubtless makes the most pertinent remark concerning this interview, and best explains the reason for which *Number Two* tolerated it, when, in answer to his proposition to argue a theological point, he reports Mr. Adams as saying, "I shall be happy to hear it, Sir. You are quite entertaining, I must own." (p. 258.)

We are presented next with an account of an interview between the Dr. and two Mormons. We must say that we think in this case the parties were well matched. Dr. Cox records the matter with infinite *naïveté*. He offers

"a few seasonable suggestions or hints as to the erect and honest scepticism with which Christain faith itself does, and human safety must, regard all such assumptions, from the manifestations of the Puseyite to the scoundrel miracles of Jesuitism; from the diabolical religion of the Mormons to the specious pseudo-philosophy of the Pantheist; from the ignorant ventures of Miller's millenarian chronology, making *ad diem* appointments with Heaven, and repeating them by va-

rious considerate adjournments, all of which Heaven inexorably scorned, to the mad-caps of Irving, with their 'unknown tongues,' or to the philosophico-sophistical day-dreams of a cracked Swedish nobleman, and his triple sense of Scripture, interpreted by 'correspondences,' or to the sottish impudence of the Universalist; or to the serene, religious self-complacency, and learned propagand excecation of the modern Socinian, deceitfully corrupting his word, and hating its adorable Author," etc., etc. — pp. 279, 280.

The amount of the matter was, that a couple of Latter-Day Saints beset the Doctor on a hot summer Sunday afternoon, and followed him after the service, which they had attended, into his study, with the hope of converting him. The Doctor does not explain how his preaching could have encouraged such a hope. He sought of them, as a miraculous attestation of their alleged mission, that they should translate a passage from his Greek New Testament; and to their evasive answer, that they had wrought miracles across the river, in New York, he suggested that, if their miracles were limited to that place, they ought also to limit themselves there. They did not scruple, by his report, to call him a hardened and reprobate hypocrite. He seems at one moment to have been in fear of his life, but he mustered courage to show them the door, and to request them to take the outside of it, which they did, leaving Number One to himself.

Finally, we have the report of an "Interview with a fashionable lady of distinction at Calais, France." And here we cannot but think that the good Doctor was quizzed by one who knew more about some things than he does or ought to know; though he regards the lady "as strangely vacant and insipid, I might say, even silly, in reference to every nobler object of duty, or destiny, or existence." (p. 304.) He met her at a *table d'hôte* on his route. "She was rather tall in person, well proportioned, with a bust of conscious beauty; her countenance self-sustained, intelligent, and yet bland," though "her bearing was occasionally overbearing and almost Amazonian." (p. 308.) Why the Doctor's eyes were so occupied by this lady, it were hard to say, as he thus describes the dinner:— "Almost every preparation of food, and especially the most specious and attractive, was quite an ambiguity. It was anonymous and foreign to our thoughts, cooked scientifically, metamorphosed, seasoned too much, and no doubt, *par excellence*, all just right, *comme il faut*." (p. 307.) Somebody at the table gave him some information, true or false, concerning this lady, who was a grandmother. After dinner, the Doctor joined her in the piazza, and instantly attempted to awaken her to a sense of her lost state. He found that he had a difficult subject, though the result is left in doubt.

In the course of his book the Doctor gives us a lesson from his own experience, which we will quote, leaving our readers to

make such an application of it as may seem appropriate to our subject.

"Many a good Christian is a bad philosopher. There are persons known to us, who so live, and so pray, that no one knowing them can, on the whole, doubt their piety; while they have some incidental faults, and some blundering and preposterous opinions, which, if the conditions of salvation were correct erudition, extensive science, and clear and true philosophy, instead of cordial faith in the testimonies and the promises of God, would certainly condemn and destroy them for ever. I bless God for his own gracious and glorious doctrine of faith in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ!" — pp. 192, 193.

The Society of Friends: a Domestic Narrative, illustrating the Peculiar Doctrines held by the Disciples of George Fox. By Mrs. Greer, Author of "Quakerism: or, The Story of my Life." New York: M. W. Dodd. 1853. 12mo. pp. 340.

Some of the criticisms advanced upon the previous work of this author pronounced a rather severe judgment concerning her, as if she were influenced by personal animosity or spleen. That she may not be wholly free from bitterness or ill-temper, in either of her works, might be allowed, without essentially impairing the value of her testimony. Her spirit has evidently been wounded by her experiences of Quakerism, and we take her exhibition of its effects, not by any means as the most just view which charity or kind judgment might present, but as a proof that upon some natures its operation is eminently injurious. We can well conceive that the principles held by the Society of Friends, when overruled and qualified by a discreet mind and an unselfish heart, may tend to form characters of exceeding loveliness and of rich Christian fruitfulness. We can also understand how an exaggeration of its peculiarities, and a bigoted attachment to its eccentricities of thought, language, and demeanor, will result in producing some of the most disagreeable specimens of humanity. In this book Mrs. Greer develops three of the most offensive results to which Quaker principles may lead, — spiritual pride, domestic tyranny, and hypocrisy. The narrative is one of exciting interest, and is so framed as to give an opportunity for the most vivid delineation of the working of human passions, when a morbid element or a dangerous bias is introduced among them.

Mrs. Greer can scarcely be accused of misrepresenting the doctrines and principles of Quakerism. For though, in her setting out of its more marked peculiarities in the actual working of the system, her descriptions may have the effect of caricature, she authenticates her statements by most copious extracts from

Quaker authorities. She appears to have made a thorough study of the standard works of the Society, whether for the satisfaction of her own mind, or for weapons against her critics, it would be hard to say. The doctrines by which she gives relief to her heroine as she passes from the bondage of Quakerism, are not all of them one whit more Scriptural or rational than those which she impugns. Take, for instance, the following sentiment: "Now, she would coöperate with the Spirit, and, in her warmth of feeling, she hurried into the common mistake, that her coöperation was essential to her soul's salvation." (p. 266). It would be very strange if it were not. The mistake here is evidently on the part of Mrs. Greer. The character of Jenefer, who represents the hypocritical, conceited, and tyrannical form of character which Quakerism, *and human nature*, may produce, is one of the most odious and repulsive which we ever encountered in a work of fiction. She could even have given some lessons to Tartuffe. On the whole, we have been exceedingly pained by the perusal of this book, for its truths are of a most saddening nature.

That wise and excellent philosopher, Sir James Mackintosh, after having perused an early number of the (English) "Christian Observer," which, he says, "supports the more mitigated Methodism," writes in his journal as follows: —

"It is impossible, I think, to look into the interior of any religious sect, without thinking better of it. I ought, indeed, to confine myself to those of Christian Europe [the writer was in Bombay]; but, with that limitation, it seems to me that the remark is true; — whether I look at the Jansenists of Port Royal, or the Quakers in Clarkson, or the Methodists in these journals. All these sects, which appear dangerous or ridiculous at a distance, assume a much more amiable character on nearer inspection. They all inculcate pure virtue, and practise mutual kindness; and they exert great force of reason in rescuing their doctrines from the absurd or pernicious consequences which naturally flow from them. Much of this arises from the general nature of religious principle; much, also, from the genius of the Gospel-morality, so meek and affectionate, that it can soften barbarians, and warm even sophists themselves. Something, doubtless, depends on the civilization of Europe; for the character of Christian sects in Asia is not so distinguished." — *Memoirs*, Vol. II. pp. 54, 55.

We are persuaded that this is in the main a true judgment concerning the internal workings of all Christian sects, when we regard the aims of admitted pursuit, and the purposes which actuate the truly devout disciples of every fellowship. But we are not so sure that this charitable view will be a true interpretation of the tactics, the manœuvres and cunning managements and intrigues of which some sects avail themselves.

Quakerism has now tested its principles, and borne its fruits for two full centuries. We have known some most excellent

members of the Society. Not as an allowance of charity, but as a tribute of just respect and deserved admiration, would we recognize the heroism and piety which have wrought within its fold. Whether its nobler and lovelier characters have been the results of its peculiar theory and discipline, we have our doubts. The shrewd worldly wisdom, the thrift and the wealth which are prominent features of the Society, cannot have been wholly free from the mark of this world, and if such characteristics have been the subjects of more sly innuendoes and of more grave imputations against Quakers than against other Christians, it is only because of their being brought into more vivid contrast with demureness of look, and professions of self-renunciation. The Society is now on the decline, and the means taken from time to time to rally its energies result in a painful exposition of its most objectionable elements.

Outlines of Universal History, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time. Translated from the German of Dr. George Weber, Professor and Director of the High School of Heidelberg. By Dr. M. Behr, Professor of German Literature in Winchester College. *Revised and Corrected, with the Addition of a History of the United States of America, by the American Editor.* Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 559.

The principles upon which this work is constructed are the only ones which can be employed with the prospect of any profitable result in such an undertaking. The manner in which these principles have been carried out in the execution of the work justifies us in speaking of it in the highest terms of praise. Some fanciful theorizers had been induced to devise artificial processes, under the name of Mnemonics, for aiding the human brain to retain any number of barren dates and disconnected facts, supposing that thus they would facilitate a knowledge of history. The work before us proceeds upon the wiser theory, that it is better so to present only the great, leading, and decisive points in universal history, as to connect them in the relations of causes and consequences. The mind can best remember things which attach themselves to its own associating power. Of course, a work like this must lack the interest which exhaustive details and rhetorical fulness can give to elaborate records of some of the more signal events from the world's great stage. The proper design of such a work is to epitomize its whole subject-matter, and so to present leading facts as to excite the desire for more extensive information.

The great outlines of history are drawn in the volume with a strong hand, and guide-marks are set up on the long way of travel, which a reader who applies his mind to the work cannot fail to remember. The generalizations and groupings are perfectly distinct. The periods of recorded time; the rise and fall of the successive empires; the events signalized by their continued influence on the world; the revolutions which have changed the aspect of human life; the men who have introduced new elements into the materials of existence; and the shifting scenes upon which the great struggles of civilization have from time to time advanced, — are respectively made the points of division and arrangement. The American editor, Professor Bowen, — than whom no one of our literary men is better furnished for the work, — has conscientiously revised the whole translation and assured its references to authorities, besides adding a complete summary of American history. His own addition covers one hundred pages, and contains what would otherwise be sought in vain in a hundred volumes. A valuable chronological table, extending over four thousand years, completes the work. We recommend it in unqualified terms, not only to students, but to general readers. It may be well to mention, that, as every such work must naturally recognize some standard and criterion for truth and justice in judgment, this volume recognizes a mild form of Protestant orthodoxy as its basis of opinion.

The Preacher and the King; or, Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV. Being an Account of the Pulpit Eloquence of that distinguished Era. Translated from the French of L. Bungener, Paris, 12th Edition. *With an Introduction by the* Rev. George Potts, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 338.

A reader, having once taken up this intensely interesting and dramatic volume, will hardly be willing to lay it down till he has come to its last page. It sparkles with brilliant thoughts, and teaches many wholesome truths in a most lively tone of earnest and sage wisdom. There are two wholly distinct points of view, under which it might be criticized, corresponding to the two elements of fact and fiction which enter into it. The story, which gives to the book its high dramatic interest, though it has a basis of historic verity, indulges in a large liberty of imaginative detail. The proper point of view from which to estimate the volume is in regarding it as a treatise on Pulpit Eloquence, treated so as to relieve the theme of a didactic, and even of a strictly professional character, while all the solemn and quicken-

ing truths which enter into it are most admirably presented. The narrative gathers around the fact of a sermon that was to be preached before Louis XIV., at Versailles, on Good Friday, by the famous Bourdaloue. The licentious conduct of the monarch was a scandal that weighed heavily upon the hearts of those who had the direction of his spiritual welfare. One mistress had been dismissed from his court to give place to another, and his priests knew that either their own holy functions must be discredited, or that the usual complimentary address introduced in the peroration of a sermon delivered in the presence of the royal sinner, must give place to a word of evangelical rebuke. The wavering Bourdaloue hesitates between the obvious duty of a preacher of righteousness, and the policy which influences the courtier. Bossuet is represented as quickening his conscience, while Claude, the Protestant, furnishes him with a substitute for the complimentary peroration which he had written. Besides these famous preachers, we have Fénelon and his uncle, the Marquis, appearing from time to time in the narrative, discussing sacred themes of Biblical interest and of morals, while through the whole volume runs a vigorous stream of thought upon the functions and aim of a true Christian preacher.

History of the State of New York. By JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD. First Period, 1609–1664. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 8vo. pp. 801.

WE do not feel that we should be doing justice either to the author of this laborious work, or to our own readers, if we were to dismiss it with only a brief notice. It deserves on every account an elaborate, a careful, and a discriminating review, and such we will hope to give it as the work advances. The preparation of such a work could not have fallen into better hands than those of Mr. Brodhead. His faithful and prolonged investigations in Holland, his services rendered to the State archives in Albany, his own Dutch descent and familiarity with his ancestral tongue, his fidelity to the historian's great aim, and his excellent style of composition, are all qualifications of the first order. His State may be proud of his devotion to her annals. It cannot be denied that Washington Irving, with all his genial humor and quaint wit, has invested the beginnings of things in the colony of New Amsterdam with an air of the ludicrous, which will never cease to attach to his theme in the minds of all who read his Knickerbocker, unless they read some veritable history like this before us. Nor do even these graver, and, we doubt not, more faithful pages, wholly dissipate those associations of

the preposterous and the comical which we must believe have some legitimate connection with the honest old Dutchmen and their doings. For even their gravity and deliberateness has a ludicrous side to it. We can respect them none the less for it.

The volume is occupied with the exclusively Dutch portion of the history of New York, commencing with its discovery in 1609, and closing with its seizure by the English in 1664. This period is of course the most romantic in its character. Even when the eye does but glance over the headings of the pages or the table of contents, we feel that there is all the interest of novelty combined with antiquity in the materials spread before us. The old Dutch navigators, slow but safe in their progress, shrewd and phlegmatic in laying their plans, cautious but thorough in their explorations, present us with many curious points of difference, when we compare them with the English adventurers hither. Some matters of controversy between the representatives of the two people enter into the contents of this volume, and here, if at all, the author may need a little looking after. We promise ourselves great pleasure and satisfaction as we reach farther into the volume, which has not been in our possession long enough to admit of its full perusal. In the mean while we would express to the author our gratitude for his well-spent toil, and our sincere hope that it may be requited as it deserves to be.

Reason and Faith, and other Miscellanies of Henry Rogers, *Author of "The Eclipse of Faith."* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 458.

Not all men take "the Edinburgh," though, were there not a limit to the purchase even of books at once cheap and valuable, there would seem to be no excuse for such an omission, where the four great Reviews are offered at the moderate price of the American reprints. Very many readers, therefore, will be glad to have these truly standard Essays from "the Edinburgh," in a convenient and well-compacted volume. This will surely be the case with all who have already been introduced to Mr. Rogers through that striking and seasonable book; "The Eclipse of Faith," a work which we have already earnestly commended to our readers.

Experience has shown, at least on our side of the Atlantic, that the public demand justifies the collection of scattered review articles. This form of publication is, we believe, somewhat peculiar to us. The Miscellanies of Carlyle, Macaulay, Martineau, and De Quincey, are all American compilations. In this fact some may find an indication of our decided taste for the

pithy and the sprightly, the brief, direct, and compact, — we should add *crammed*, were not the word unpleasantly suggestive. The review article, that can be mastered in a few leisure hours, and which gives us results rather than processes, is chosen in preference to the ponderous and elaborate treatise, or even the modest octavo. We want something that connects itself very closely with the passing days and men, pages written, corrected, and printed under the pressures and amidst the throngs of the times, full of a fresh life. And a review article in our day is a very different thing from what passed under the same name before Lord Jeffrey and Sydney Smith came to the rescue. We may say, as literary chroniclers, that the Reviews — we will add the *Quarterly* Reviews, lest we should be charged with self-laudation — are now the organs through which some of the ablest philosophers, economists, philologists, naturalists, and theologians express their maturely reached conclusions. They give us some of the best thought and the best rhetoric of the day, and they ought not to be confined to the necessarily somewhat limited company who buy, read, and bind them year by year; their best portions should go out of a fleeting pamphlet into a book, whether in the way of piracy or of legitimate purchase, the friends and the opponents of the International Copyright must determine by friendly conference.

But we intended long ere this to have assured our readers that they will find these Miscellanies of Mr. Rogers both pleasant and instructive. It contains articles on the "Life and Writings of Thomas Fuller," the reverend, the witty, and the wise; on "Andrew Marvell," the honest statesman, sparkling poet, and keen satirist; on the "Correspondence and Character of Luther," known unto all men, whether to be hated or loved; on the "Genius and Writings of Pascal," sage and saint, man of science, and man of prayer; on "Sacred Eloquence: the British Pulpit" (would that it could only call down the needful fire!); on "The Vanity and Glory of Literature"; the "Right of Private Judgment"; and last, yet by no means least, on "Reason and Faith: their Claims and Conflicts." The Essays are marked by a strong, clear, and attractive style, and are able, thoughtful, and singularly healthy discussions of the subjects which they claim to treat.

Mr. Rogers, as those who have read his "Eclipse of Faith" hardly need to be informed, has devoted himself earnestly to the study of the forms of scepticism that prevail in our times, and has set himself as earnestly to the task of opposing them, with much success, as it seems to us. He is largely indebted to Butler, and makes no secret of his indebtedness. Why should he? Butler has announced in his great "Analogy" a fruitful principle, which is capable of unlimited applications, and as the

new scepticisms, so called, are in fact only reproductions of the old, the weapons that served once to lay them will answer the purpose again, only they must be adapted to the new circumstances, a service which Mr. Rogers has well rendered. Butler's method, indeed, leaves the unbeliever free to accept the alternative of Atheism, and, when he is reminded that the same objections can be urged against Theism as against Christianity, to declare that he will receive neither the one nor the other. But the great mass of sceptics will ever be unwilling to go this length of doubt. Some further explanation of Butler's principle may be needed in reply to the fair and honest rejoinder, that, whilst we may expect to find difficulties in the religious interpretation of Nature, a Revelation, granted for the express purpose of clearing up obscurities, should be entirely clear and explicit. The subject needs to be still further labored upon, in order to secure a more satisfactory adjustment of this point.

If we have any fault to find with the method followed by Mr. Rogers in his treatment of unbelief, it is this, — that he seems to aim rather to silence and put down, than to teach and win, the sceptic. He encounters rather the conceited pretender, than the sincere and heavily-laden doubter, though in "The Eclipse of Faith" this class of unwilling sceptics is by no means neglected. Still, we think that there are many who would be rather silenced than satisfied by the arguments of Mr. Rogers; many who, besides these valuable considerations addressed to their understandings, need to have their attention turned to that divine fulness of the Gospel which alone is able to give to the heart final and full repose. The words of the Spirit of God must surely gain the witness of the Spirit in the soul. It is exceedingly difficult to preserve the just proportion between the internal and the external evidence for Christianity. Any exaggeration of the one is sure to lead to a reaction in favor of the other. We have suffered from a too exclusive reliance upon "Miracles and Prophecy." We are suffering now from a contempt of "Miracles and Prophecy." When we settle down again, if this can be, we must try to gird ourselves about with the threefold cord of "Miracles, Prophecy, and the Spirit in the obedient heart," which can never be broken.

Who are Evangelical? A Sermon preached in the Meeting-house of the Second Congregational Society in Concord, N. H., Jan. 30, 1853. By Augustus Woodbury, Minister of the Society. Concord: Kipp & Osgood. 1853. 8vo. pp. 28.

The occasion which called forth this Discourse connects itself

with a subject that is worthy of some remark from us. It is doubtless known to many of our readers, that, some two years since, a Society was founded in Boston, which was incorporated in 1852, under the name of the "Young Men's Christian Association." The invitation to membership is extended to all young men, who may seek its advantages with the moral and improving purpose which it was designed to advance. But all who may become members of it are not allowed a voice in the management of the Association, as that privilege is restricted to such of the members as are also members of Trinitarian churches, — or, according to a most arrogant perversion of a sacred Christian phrase, members of *Evangelical* churches. We cannot believe that any number of the ingenuous and noble-minded young men of Boston would ever, on their own prompting, have devised such a scheme as this; and we are clear in the conviction, that, if the whole truth of the matter were known, the origin of the exclusive element in the Association would be traced to the instigation of one or more of the Calvinistic ministers of this city. From our own observation of the train of suggestions and measures which have led to this attempt to carry the bitter strife of doctrinal controversy into an Association, whose main design is to promote the intellectual and moral improvement of those who are exposed to the perils of a city life, we are led to refer it to two chief motives on the part of its prime movers. The first of these motives we take to have been, a desire to draw away the interest of young men from clubs and secret societies: the second arising from a dislike to the very liberal spirit through which lecturers at Lyceums have been permitted to discuss with entire freedom some subjects which zealous Calvinists would wholly exclude, or would treat only in a way of their own. We are confident that these motives have operated in other cities and towns, in which associations, kindred by their exclusiveness to the one in Boston, have since been formed. We have heard of one or more cases in which the attempt has been frustrated, because the weight of moral influence and respectability has been on the side which would refuse coöperation in such a cause. We cannot but commend in the highest terms of approbation any device which aims to offer to young men in cities new motives of virtue, and new means for a judicious, an improving, and a cheerful combination together in efforts and interests which will profitably engage their spare time. If these noble ends can be gained, we will bear with some imperfections in the scheme that will secure them. Nor would we object very strenuously to the exclusive system which has been devised, if we could persuade ourselves that it originated in the natural promptings of the young men who are made parties to it, and if it were only carried out

in consistency with itself. We are forced to admit, that some natures and temperaments will work far more energetically to a nominally religious end, when they are spurred on by a sectarian zeal, than when they simply follow the guidance of the free spirit of the Gospel. Some persons, we are aware, regard the banding together of young men on this basis, as tending only to foster a nest of young bigots, who will make the name of religion odious to some of their nobler-spirited companions. Yet such bigotry is not natural to young men, and we should attribute all of it, which they may be moved to exhibit, to a motive-power concealed behind them. But in the mean while, when associations have been formed on this basis, we think they ought to restrict their appeals within the same limits to which they confine their charity or their privileges. This they do not. They immediately begin to assess the community, to ask for funds, to request subscribers to the lectures which they may provide exclusively through Trinitarian speakers, and to invite those whom they stigmatize as *unevangelical* to join them on a condition inconsistent with a proper self-respect. For we will put the question to any high-minded young man, who has accepted Trinitarian opinions, whether he thinks it perfectly magnanimous to ask his fellow-clerk to join him in a work designed to promote their mutual moral and intellectual improvement, and at the same time to connect with the request an insult upon the religious opinions of his friend?

Even in the organization and management of our religious societies, a similar exclusive claim on the part of "the Church," to be allowed to tax their neighbors, and to dispose of the joint contributions according to their pleasure, was found to be fruitful in animosity. Quarrels which have arisen on that score have done more of harm in some of our parishes in one year, than a devoted minister has been able to accomplish of good in his labors for half a century. There are still instances, in which, nominally, the church body, or the communicants, have the choice and calling of a minister, for whose support they assess a congregation. But in reality, there is only a pretence in the thing. "The Church" take care to have the mind of a congregation, knowing that they will not otherwise get its money. But whatever may be said in behalf of the exclusive principle in our religious organizations, it is surely out of place, and in the long run will be pregnant with mischief in Young Men's Associations. Let them undertake to control the course of Lyceum lectures in one of our towns, and they may find scanty audiences.

But the Sermon before us, which has called out the above remarks in this place, (though we have for some time intended

to utter them,) fixes our attention once more upon the discourtesy with which some of our Trinitarian brethren persist in monopolizing a term, that is as large and free as the Gospel of Jesus Chrjst. If their cause is good, it is prejudiced, and not advanced, by such unworthy treatment of Christians as conscientious and as intelligent as themselves.

Mr. Woodbury informs us, in an Appendix, that his discourse was called out by the measures connected with the formation in Concord, N. H., of an association kindred to that of some young men in Boston. A meeting was invited, as he supposed in good faith, of those who were willing and anxious to promote a measure that might aid in securing the young men of the place from temptations to vice and immorality, and serve, on some different basis from that of existing church organizations, as a help to their moral and intellectual improvement. He found, however, that by some management dark to him, but light to those who had been parties to it, "a call had been circulated for some weeks previous to this meeting, and that to that call the name of not a single person had been appended who did not belong to the Calvinistic, or Episcopal, or Methodist societies in the place, because no others had been applied to." It pleased those who assume to judge the faith of others to express the condition that should exclude all who were not Trinitarians from the full privileges of an Association which they were asked to join and to support, by using the blessed word *Evangelical.* Mr. Woodbury, therefore, discusses the question, "Who are Evangelical?" And this he does with an admirable skill, in an excellent spirit, and to a perfect demonstration of the wrong which is done by a sectarian appropriation of that term. He shows that, "to be evangelical, a man must be governed by the principles, the life, the spirit of Jesus Christ." His discourse cannot fail to do good, and to promote a real Christian sentiment.

The Annotated Paragraph Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms: with Explanatory Notes, Prefaces to the several Books, and an entirely new Selection of References to Parallel and Illustrative Passages. Volume I. *Genesis to Solomon's Songs.* New York: Charles B. Norton. 1853. 8vo. pp. 720.

This volume is well adapted to the use for which it is designed, namely, to serve as a help to the intelligent perusal of the Bible. So far as confusion, misapprehension, and controversy arise — as to a considerable extent they do — from the

way in which the text of the Scriptures is cut up and disjointed in our common Bibles, a method which dispenses with this process must contribute to the satisfaction of all readers. The maps introduced into the volume are excellent, and embrace the results of the most recent researches. The few pictorial illustrations which appear, relating to the Jewish worship, are in good taste, and will be of service, especially to the young. We have turned to a few places of the book, to examine the style and character of the Prefaces and Notes, and can pronounce them, on the whole, judicious, and well selected from the enormous mass of material which is available for the purpose. That such an undertaking should present no points for criticism or objection, is not to be expected. A great recommendation of the volume is, that it holds a place midway between a Bible containing only the simple text, and one in which the text is overwhelmed by elaborate and excessive commentary.

Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert: being the Result of a Second Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By AUSTEN H. LAYARD, M. P., Author of "Nineveh and its Remains." With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 686.

ON the appearance of the volumes embracing the brilliant results of Mr. Layard's first explorations of Nineveh, we endeavored to acquaint our readers with their character and value. The persevering explorer must have found a sufficient reward for his zeal in the high appreciation which has been put upon his labors. It was rather from this public approbation, and his own enthusiasm for the work, than from any sufficient aid which the niggardly grant made to him could impart, that he was moved to pursue the work he had so felicitously commenced. Some persons may suppose that, as his first discoveries absorbed the chief interest of the matter, and satisfied so well the expectations they had excited, another work will contain but a repetition of the tale, which has lost its novelty. Readers might thus be deterred from the perusal of this volume. But whoever is deterred by that reason will deprive himself of a rich pleasure. Mr. Layard had by no means exhausted the interest of his subject. He has opened now a far wider field, his discoveries are presented more intelligibly, and something like completeness of view is offered to us.

We suppose the volume before us to have been printed in Lon-

don. It is certainly most elaborately illustrated, and richly furnished. The incidents of travel are more full and lively in their detail than were those in the former work of the author. Familiarity with the scenes which he has traversed, has given him confidence in describing them. Mr. Layard has now brought forward more prominently than before the subject of deciphering the Assyrian inscriptions, if the right key can be found to the cuneiform letters. He asserts, not with absolute positiveness of certainty, but modestly, and with the assurance of an intelligent self-conviction, that that key has been found. Without taking to himself the credit of the discovery, but paying a just tribute to the English scholars who have bestowed such devoted pains upon the subject, he thinks we are warranted in the conclusion that we can now interpret the Assyrian inscriptions. We confess to a lack of entire satisfaction on this point, for we are even sceptical about some of the results which form the boast of the Egyptian hieroglyphists. Still, we must acknowledge that the fact of so close an accordance in the opinions of investigators who have pursued different methods, and wrought upon different materials, is of great weight in favor of Mr. Layard's decision. His work is a most valuable contribution to our increasing store of treasures disinterred from the long past.

A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin; presenting the Original Facts and Documents upon which the Story is founded; together with corroborative Statements verifying the Truth of the Work. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 8vo. pp. 262.

MRS. STOWE'S new work must certainly be valued for the information which it imparts, though it can hardly afford pleasure to any one. Let us say at once, however, that we regard her as perfectly justifiable in its publication. The volume will inflame passion. It will do in some quarters a vast deal of mischief. Its specific contents, fortified as their credibility appears to be, will be impugned just as positively as were the fictitious representations, to authenticate which as real facts she has published this mass of painful and revolting details. But if there is blame anywhere, at whose door will it lie? Certainly not at Mrs. Stowe's. She has been accused of downright falsehood; and those of her hostile readers who have stopped short of that gross charge, have questioned the verisimilitude and general fidelity of her portraiture of slavery. If the interests of truth did not call for these corroborative documents, — if the mild and forbearing course which alone can help in the bloodless removal of the darkest

scourge of civilization might have suggested that this publication had better have been suppressed, as tending to acrimony,— still it was hard for the authoress to rest under the imputation of falsehood, when she could so triumphantly disprove it. Those who have driven her to this resource must now assume the responsibility of consequences.

Yusef; or the Journey of the Frangi. A Crusade in the East. By T. Ross Browne. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 421.

The solemn old East is made to part with all the dignity of its reserve and mistiness in this racy work. Mr. Browne has few rivals among the multitude of our fun-loving and romantic chroniclers of adventure. We would not be understood as impugning the truthfulness of his pages when he undertakes to tell the truth: but it is sometimes difficult to decide when that is the case. At any rate, he is a most charming writer, and our own experience of some of the scenes which he describes helps our faith in him from halting on some occasions when he does not make exorbitant demands upon it. It is high time that we had a book like this on the East. There are materials for mirth and for lively representation to be found there, and those who have gone half through with this volume will make no complaint against the author. They may be induced by it to follow him through some other of his graphic sketches of more out of the way places.

Lives of the Brothers Humboldt, Alexander and William. Translated and Arranged from the German of Klencke and Schlesier. By Juliette Bauer. With Portraits. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1853. 12mo. pp. 398.

The portraits we cannot say much for, but the contents of this volume, as sketches of the lives of the most distinguished man of science of the age, and of his brother, a statesman above mediocrity, are of high interest. The elder brother, William, who died in 1835, confined his travels to Europe. He filled several offices of distinction in the Prussian government at home, and represented it at Rome, Vienna, and London. Like most of the men who have run the career of public honors, especially in such stormy times as his, he thought he had cause to complain of ingratitude from the public. His biography is marked by incidents of an instructive character, as he was brought into connection with many famous persons. The glory of the name of Hum-

boldt, however, attaches to Alexander, the younger brother, whose broad scientific researches, whose distant voyages and travels, and whose popular works, all kept in living influence by his own protracted life and his place at court, as well as by their own merits, have made his name familiar to a host of readers. Such will be pleased to read this biography of him, which is enriched by copious details from his experience and observations.

The Captive in Patagonia; or, Life among the Giants. A Personal Narrative, by Benjamin Franklin Browne. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 233.

We love to read a book like this with a perfect confidence in the fidelity of the narrative, and without the slightest misgiving as to the safety of yielding our entire faith to the author. "Typee" left us somewhat in a maze, from which we have never since wholly relieved ourselves when enjoying pages of a kindred novelty and romance in their contents. We do not know any reason for distrusting the accuracy of the narrative before us. We prefer to believe that Mr. Browne has dealt by his readers in thorough honesty. There is, however, some slight cause for misgiving, arising from the cast of the narrative, from several literary allusions and turns of expression which it contains, and also in the author's account of the way in which he fell into the hands of the Patagonians. If he enlisted the services of some writer to present his narrative in due form, he had done better to have told us of it. Whether or not any abatement is to be made from our confidence in his story, we will not pronounce. We are content to trust our interesting and lively narrator, and we certainly accord to him our thanks for his contribution to the library of adventure, for his book is original and so were his experiences.

The Restoration of Belief. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1853. 16mo. pp. 232.

Under this title an English writer is issuing a series of essays designed to meet some of the aspects of scepticism and destructive criticism. Three of the series have appeared in London, and two are reprinted in the little volume from the press of Mr. Hooker, with the promise that the others shall be reproduced. These Essays bear respectively the following sub-titles: —

I. "Christianity in Relation to its Ancient and Modern Antagonists"; — II. "On the Supernatural Element contained in the Epistles, and its Bearing on the Argument." The writer starts with the simple assertion, that the question as to the truth of Christianity must be a determinable one. Such a question must be regarded as deserving of thorough investigation, because of the interests which it suspends; but the motive for that investigation, however perplexed and wearisome it may be, must be found in the conviction that it is possible by some means to go to the very bottom of the question. Where that bottom really is, is now one of the points most earnestly debated. Whether history or philosophy is to furnish us with the last test, the final criteria for judgment and decision, opens an issue on which those who are pursuing the inquiry take different sides. Our author commits himself wholly to the historical side of the issue. And certainly, so far as the truth, or *the truths* of Christianity are committed to dates and events and incidents and facts of a strictly historical character, history will either verify or falsify them. But the mistiness that necessarily invests the past combines to favor the cloudiness of speculation which claims that the philosophical side of the issue is one of paramount importance. If it be settled, that a *miracle* is utterly impossible, "that all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation," that nothing can come to man or the world under the name of religion through what we call revelation, — if true philosophy has jurisdiction over these matters, and can pronounce decisively upon them, and pronounces against the popular belief of Christendom, then the gaps of history, the flaws in its records, must be made the most of, and all the apparent force of its testimony to Christianity must be accounted as fatally insufficient for its purpose. But then, on the other hand, if philosophy be allowed to start with all its own assumed prerogatives, before it has completed its destructive work, it will have to meet certain facts of indisputable history, which present Christianity as a new influence working in the world, — as the most powerful influence that ever worked in it, — and as having certain credentials of its claims in records, institutions, and effects that will stand in the way of a sceptical philosophy, and require to be fairly dealt by.

Our essayist, as we have said, commits himself to the historical side of the issue. He takes the historical presence and influence of Christianity as his point of defence for what he regards as the truth, and as his point of attack for what he regards as error. He presents, with admirable force, an argument which sceptical criticism may quarrel with, and may resist, but which, we think, is unassailable by any weapon that can destroy it. The author is by no means unmindful of the various resources

and phases of unbelief, but drops remarks here and there, which indicate a clear knowledge of the actual thought of the times as represented in our sceptical literature. We shall defer the expression of an opinion on the character of his essays till we shall have more of them. Better that the object which he has in view be left to the providential and human influences of various kinds which will contribute to its slow fulfilment, even if our literature does not devote many volumes to it, rather than that any crude or feeble efforts should peril a cause to which is committed all that we hold most dear.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1853, *exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astrology, Meteorology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, &c. Together with a List of recent Scientific Publications; a Classified List of Patents; Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men; Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year* 1852, *etc., etc.* Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1853. 12mo. pp. 411.

WE have copied the title-page of this Year-Book in full, as the best service which we can render towards the circulation of a most suggestive volume. No one needs to be informed that a year now brings to pass enough to fill these burdened pages with fresh materials. A competent editor, well skilled by practice, has learned to have his eyes opened over the whole world, and upon the heavens above, so far as the keenest instruments reveal them, and to gather in the results for an annual tribute to Science. The book is full of matters of ordinary use, and ought to be put to service in our academies. The volume for this year contains a fine portrait of Lieutenant A. D. Bache, of the United States Coast Survey.

Philosophy of Mysterious Agents, Human and Mundane: or the Dynamic Laws and Relations of Man. Embracing the Natural Philosophy of Phenomena styled "Spiritual Manifestations." By E. C. ROGERS. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 336.

THERE probably is a *Philosophy* even in "Spiritual Rappings," so called. But whether this philosophy reaches deeper than the saying of the wise Roman, *Populus vult decipi*, — which

means, *People love to be humbugged*, — is one of the great questions of the day. The wise features of the book before us are, that the author pursues the right method of inquiry into the matter, save that he is a little more credulous than we should be, and that he comes to a conclusion which rests in the mystery of man's organization, instead of involving the most unseemly interference of spirits with articles of furniture, to say nothing of bad grammar and all sorts of incongruities.

The Shady Side; or Life in a Country Parsonage. By a Pastor's Wife. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1853. 12mo. pp. 349.

THERE may be fiction, but there is no falsehood, in this revelation of life. Occasionally we see announcements of books which it is said are very suitable for presents to ministers from their parishioners. We pronounce this to be admirably adapted for a present from a minister's wife, or from the minister himself, to his parishioners, in a country society. There is much attention now turned towards the salary of ministers in our smaller or rural societies. The occasion, not so much for generosity as for justice, is sensibly felt to present itself in many quarters. Let this book have a free circulation, and it will help a righteous cause.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Osgood's Studies in Christian Biography. — The (London) Christian Reformer, for March, has an extended view of Mr. Osgood's volume, whose title we have given above. Having already spoken highly of that work, on account of its scholarship and its eminently catholic spirit and candor of judgment, we are pleased to observe that it has been brought to the notice of our English brethren. The reviewer speaks of it in high terms of praise, and makes liberal extracts to substantiate his encomiums.

Occasional and Historical Discourses. — Three sermons have recently appeared, the contents of which have interesting bearings upon matters of parish history. They are as follows: —

"A Discourse delivered on Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Author's Ordination, by Ralph Sanger, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Dover." The personal and professional experience of a long

ministry are reviewed in this Discourse. The author must have secured the affections of the people, for he bears testimony to their kindness. His record of the changes which have occurred during his pastorate in his own ministerial association, shows how busy change has been all around him.

"Sermon at the Installation of Rev. George W. Briggs as Pastor of the First Church in Salem, by Rev. Mr. Morison, of Milton. Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem. With Notices of the First Church and its Ministers, by a Member." The installation services here given are of a high order as expressions of Christian sentiment. The matter in the Appendix embraces much historical and antiquarian lore in a brief compass. A church which has numbered two Higginsons, Roger Williams, and Hugh Peter among its pastors, may afford to have its annals repeated whenever it adds a new one to the list.

"A Discourse preached on the Occasion of Leaving the Old Meeting-House at Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury, Mass., March 20, 1853, by Grindall Reynolds, Pastor of the Third Parish." The old-fashioned structure, within whose doomed walls this very appropriate discourse was delivered, had become venerable, as we estimate the length of time which must pass upon our fabrics to make them into antiquities. The pastor seized upon the occasion before him to use it for edifying historical reminiscences. The pamphlet has a value as a contribution to our church annals.

Forthcoming Publications from Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. — This firm has in press a number of valuable works, shortly to appear, which, though they will for the most part be issued within the space of two months, would, a few years ago, have been regarded as sufficient to signalize a publishing firm during a partnership of half a century. So amazing is the fertility of the press and so extensive the market for books of the most solid worth, that a week furnishes material enough to afford literary nutriment for one whole course of the seasons. We omit all mention of the numerous law-books which are in course of publication by this house, which stands at the head of the mystery of book-making, at least in that branch of the art, in this country. In the intrinsic value and in the fine appearance of its publications, this firm likewise holds the place of honor.

Messrs Little, Brown, & Co. will publish very soon a collection of the letters addressed to Washington, in four octavo volumes. Of this highly important work, Dr. Sparks is the editor, as who but he should be? We may anticipate from its perusal a fund of instruction and of anecdote, illustrative of what is already known, and communicating fresh information on the personal history of individuals.

Another work to appear immediately is a new edition by the Hon. James Savage of that marvellously elaborate book, "The Journal of John Winthrop," in two volumes. It is but rarely that a copy of the old edition of this precious work can be found, and then it commands a very high price, as those who have been so fortunate as to own it set a high value upon it. It is somewhat remarkable, that so long an interval as twenty-seven years should have been suffered to elapse, without offering to the increasing number of readers the opportunity of possessing the journal of the noble and excellent Winthrop. If the

book is a novelty to any one who may peruse this page, we can assure him that he will secure a rare pleasure in obtaining a copy.

The same firm have published the Poems of Gray, as a specimen copy of forty similar volumes, which will embrace the British Poets subsequent to Spenser. The style of the series closely resembles that of Pickering's Aldine Edition, so called, but will be furnished at half the cost, and with equal elegance, including the portraits. The experience of readers has proved that volumes of that size are the most convenient for such uses as those for which the poets serve us. Though this is a very expensive undertaking, we have no doubt that the publishers will find it to be an eminently successful one. — The excellent Memoir of Sir James Mackintosh has never yet been published in this country, but there are few works of the sort which surpass it in the interest of its subject-matter, and we are glad to know that Messrs Little, Brown, & Co. will very soon issue an edition of it in two octavo volumes. We may say the same of the Memoir of Francis Horner, which in the edition from this firm is to contain additions from the pen of an English editor. It is less known than the Memoir of Mackintosh, but is deserving of a wide circulation. There will be two new chapters in the American edition, written by a brother of Mr. Horner. — To these works are to be added an elegant edition of Hume's History, in six octavo volumes, to match the London edition of Macaulay, and a new edition, in four volumes octavo, of Plutarch's Lives, under the supervision of a distinguished English scholar now residing in Cambridge. — And yet once more, the same firm are to publish an edition of both series of Lord Mahon's History of England. Two volumes of the first series were published some years ago, but the enterprise did not seem to warrant its prosecution. — Messrs Little, Brown, & Co. have just received the third and fourth volumes of Lord John Russell's Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. A large number of copies of this lively work are received here by an arrangement with the English publishers, the volumes being precisely the same in type and paper, but furnished to us at just half their price in England.

New Publications. — Redfield of New York has just published in three well-filled volumes, Michaud's History of the Crusades, translated from the French by W. Robson. This work, having been announced some time ago, has been looked for with the expectation that it would revive the interest of the theme. We have a review of it in progress for our next Number. — The same publisher has reprinted from the English edition the book upon this country by Francis and Theresa Pulszky, entitled, "White, Red, Black. Sketches of American Society in the United States." As the companions of Kossuth these observers had peculiarly favorable opportunities for sight-seeing and intercourse here. Having learned, and being well prepared to allow for, the necessary imperfections which must impair the value of such books as authorities, we look to them for amusement and for indirect instruction. These volumes will serve those purposes well. They are full of mistakes of all kinds; but there is truth and good sense in them. — The same publisher has issued three light works on which our readers must form their own opinions, while we give their titles, as follows: "A Stray Yankee in Texas," by Philip Paxton; "Nick of the Woods, or The Jibbenainosay, a Tale of Kentucky," by Robert Montgomery

Bird, D. D.; and "The Lion's Skin and the Lover Hunt," by Charles De Bernard.

Messrs. Appleton & Co., continuing their truly Popular Library, have recently published several of Thackeray's works, under his own supervision.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have undertaken the publication here of Dr. Lingard's History of England, in thirteen volumes, 16mo. The first volume has already appeared. The copy is that of the last London edition, upon which the venerable author spent the best years and the persevering labors of his life. Protestants of course will suspect, and will not be slow to detect, the Roman Catholic bias of the work. But inasmuch as all such stories have two sides to them, and as the Roman Catholic side in this case could not be presented more ably, Dr. Lingard's History may claim a place in all our libraries.

Dickens's Child's History of England, which has had so many readers of the successive chapters in which it was originally issued, has found publishers in the Messrs. Harper. Though the book bears a juvenile form, its contents are written up to the standard of the present day. Its moral tone is admirable.

"The Mother and her Offspring," is the title of a practically useful work, by Dr. Stephen Tracy, formerly a missionary physician under the American Board to the Chinese. With perfect delicacy, yet in an intelligible way, the volume communicates just such information concerning maternity and the care of children, as is of chief value to those concerned in such knowledge.

The Messrs. Harper have now issued four of the seven volumes of their beautiful edition of Coleridge's Works.

Historical and Genealogical Inquiries touching New England.— Within a few years the interest in antiquarian investigations has become almost a passion in our immediate neighborhood. Various influences have combined to excite a desire for the tracing of genealogies, while a sense of obligation to the worthies of former days has made the descendants of New England sires anxious to write the history of each colony and town within our boundaries. The Massachusetts Historical Society, which was the pioneer in such enterprises, retains all its early vigor, with some rich experience to guide its future efforts. Dr. Young's two admirable volumes, embracing the original annals of the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Colonies, stand at the head of all the recent contributions to our historic lore. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" is a quarterly publication issued by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Twenty-five numbers of it have appeared, and though the information which it contains is necessarily fragmentary in its shape, the volumes, as they accumulate, will afford the materials of complete historical narratives. The address delivered before the just-named society, on its last Anniversary, by William Whiting, Esq., is an enthusiastic and able vindication of the practical utility of such antiquarian investigations.

Mr. Drake has issued the third number of his elaborate and beautifully illustrated History of this good city of Boston: a work which deserves

a generous patronage because of the "love of the soil" which inspired the undertaking, and the labor which is so faithfully devoted to it.

The most indefatigable cultivator of New England antiquities abroad is the Rev. Joseph Hunter, of London. In the series of critical and historical tracts written by him, the second of the three which have been published is entitled "The First Colonists of New England." This tract met with great favor here, and after the Rev. Dr. Young had pointed out one or two mistakes relative to matters more closely connected with our side of the ocean, Mr. Hunter consented to rewrite it, and the tract now appears in substance in the first volume of the fourth series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In a letter recently addressed by Mr. Hunter to the President of this Society is a passage which we take pleasure in quoting, as follows: —

"I have next to thank you for Mr. Drake's No. I. of his History of Boston, which would have been acceptable to me, if for nothing else, for the view of Boston, a city in which I have learned to feel more interest of late years, chiefly on your account. There is good matter in the book itself, but I think, when speaking of Brewster and New Plymouth, he might have said that it has recently been brought to light, that Brewster had lived while in England at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, if it had been only to encourage the one or two persons in England who trouble themselves about such *minutiæ* to keep their minds a little intent on your national antiquities. Indeed, to say the truth, I have been surprised, that now, in two or three years or more, since my tract made its appearance, there has been, as far as I know, no notice of the new and important matter it contains in any of your North American Reviews or Magazines. It might even have claimed some kind of recognition from the persons who meet to celebrate the arrival of 'the Pilgrim Fathers.'

"I noticed one thing of some importance in Mr. Drake's book, namely, that he has an error of ten years in the date of the birth of Captain John Smith."

So far as the range of our editorial responsibility extends, we confess to our share of apparent ingratitude in not having expressed in some public way the sense of our obligations to Mr. Hunter. He richly deserves our hearty thanks. If he will pardon the neglect of the past, and will give us another of his precious tracts, we promise that it shall not go unnoticed by us.

Maurice's Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament. — Our readers will very soon enjoy the opportunity of perusing this book in an American reprint of it to be issued by Messrs Crosby, Nichols, & Co. Without embracing any thing of marked novelty in the treatment of themes which have been wrought upon by so many minds for ages, the volume has such a freshness and vigor of style, and moreover exhibits so much of the influence of thoughts and mental conflicts of present interest, that it has a degree of originality about it. Mr. Maurice belongs to a school in the English Church which has been most influenced by Coleridge, and which has not wholly escaped from being affected by that strong, though somewhat confused, exhibition of the perplexing position of the Church that has been made by Froude, Foxton, and Newman. Throughout this volume appear the evidences of that intense struggle between the implicit faith of times gone by, and that demand of the in-

tellect for rational conviction which have been brought into an excessive and exaggerated antagonism by many recent writers of the sceptical school. Mr. Maurice makes constant reference, either in plain terms, or by implication, to that rationalizing tendency which, while professing to admit an historical element in the Jewish Scriptures, seeks to present its miraculous narratives under the forms of heroic legends or of myths. He admits that this liberty may be taken and easily indulged, and that more or less of adroitness used in its application will commend its results more or less favorably to a class of minds. But if he yields at all to this tendency, — and we cannot say that he is wholly free from it, — it is not for the sake of divesting the Jewish annals of their miraculous garb, but that he may conform his interpretations the more strictly to the spirit of the Oriental imagery. In this volume he makes the Prophets and the Kings of the Hebrews to be mutually illustrative of their respective human relations and of their divine functions. His chief purpose is to show that the lessons and morals conveyed through the narratives and through the lives and examples which they portray, have a direct application to the experiences of humanity in all time, and especially now; that they are not antiquated, but of rich and fruitful utility, as indicating the common temptations and the paramount truths which enter into the course of man's life.

We can assure our readers that the volume will be found full of instruction, and eminently suggestive. Though it has been too much the fashion for some among us to depreciate the Old Testament, as if in commendation of the New, most of our ministers, at least, will need no argument to prove to them that the elder Scriptures are filled with the richest materials for the illustration of human character and of the Divine government. To such uses Mr. Maurice puts them, and we have followed his instructive pages with delight.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ordination. — Mr. Thomas William Brown, from the last class of Graduates from the Theological School in Cambridge, was ordained Pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society at Trenton, N. J., on December 24, 1852. Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Charles Lowe of New Bedford; Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Peabody of Portsmouth; Ordaining Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop of Boston; Charge, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Boston; Fellowship of the Churches, by the Rev. Edgar Buckingham; Concluding Prayer, by the Rev. Charles J. Bowen of Newburyport.

Dedications. — The Meeting-house erected by the Unitarian Society at Chelsea Ferry, was dedicated on October 20th, 1852. The Sermon was preached by the Pastor, the Rev. Adams Ayer; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by the Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; the other services of the occasion were by the Rev. Dr. Peabody and the Rev. Mr. Coolidge of Boston, and the Rev. Mr. Bishop, of England.

The Meeting-house erected by the First Unitarian Society in East Boston was dedicated on December 29th, 1852. Prayer, by the Rev. A. B Muzzey of Cambridge; Selections from Scripture, by the Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge of Boston; Salutation of the Churches, by the Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Sermon, by the Pastor, Rev. Warren H. Cudworth; Prayer of Dedication, by the Rev. Calvin Lincoln.

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